国际关系与国家安全

熊光楷 著

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2007 年 3 月，作者应巴西高等战争学院院长莫雷拉上将邀请，率领中国国际战略学会代表团访问巴西高等战争学院并做讲演。

March 2007: The author led a delegation from the China Institute for International Strategic Studies to visit the Brazilian Superior War College, and delivered a speech at the invitation of Gen. Barros Moreira, Commandant of the college.



2007 年 3 月，作者应邀出席俄罗斯外交与国防政策委员会年会，并在该委员会理事长卡拉加诺夫主持下发表主旨讲话。

March 2007: The author attended the annual conference of the Russian Council on Foreign and Defense Policy with the council's chairman Sergey Karaganov as the chair, and delivered a keynote speech.



2007 年 4 月，作者为清华大学党委理论中心组就国际形势问题讲课。
April 2007: The author gave a lecture on the international situation to the party committee theory center group of Tsinghua University.



2007 年 7 月，作者在德国参加中德对话论坛第三次会议。
July 2007: The author at the third meeting of the China-Germany Dialogue Forum held in Germany.



2008 年 4 月，作者出席中国国际战略学会主办的“公共卫生安全：世界与中国”国际学术研讨会，并主持加拿大前总理坎贝尔的主旨演讲。
April 2008: The author attended the international symposium on “Public Health Security: World and China” hosted by China Institute for International Strategic Studies, and hosted the speech delivered by former Canadian Prime Minister Kim Campbell.



2008 年 5 月，作者应邀访问英国，期间在伦敦国际战略研究所做报告。
May 2008: The author visited the UK and delivered a speech in International Institute for Strategic Studies (IISS).



2009 年 2 月，作者在上海交通大学主持中国国际战略学会与上海交通大学国际与公共事务学院联合主办的“中美俄三边关系学术研讨会”。
February 2009: The author moderated the Academic Seminar on China-U.S.-Russia Trilateral Relations co-hosted by the China Institute for International Strategic Studies and the School of International and Public Affairs of Shanghai Jiao Tong University at SJTU.



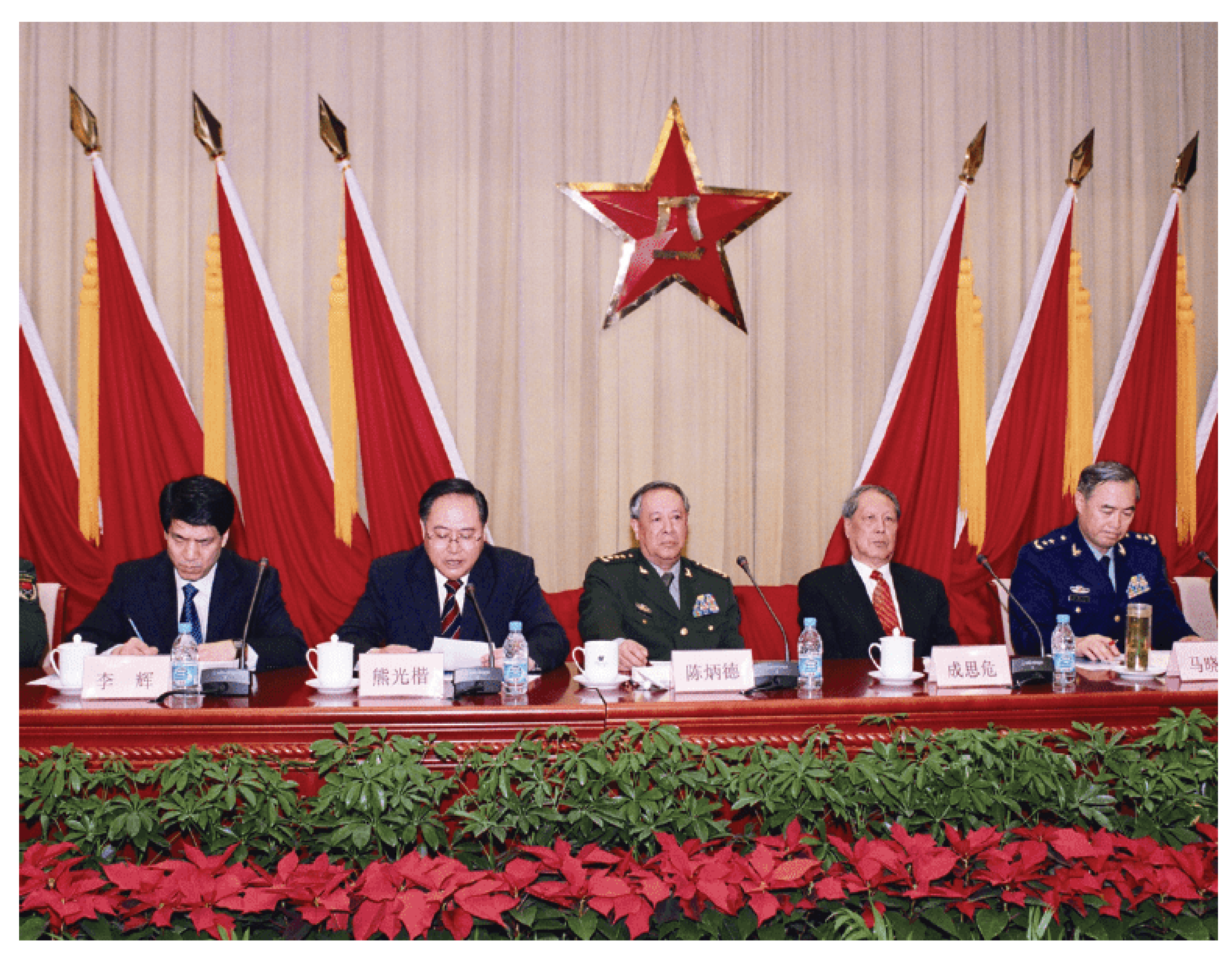
2009 年 2 月，作者为上海交通大学国际与公共事务学院师生讲授国际安全形势课。
February 2009: The author gave a lecture on the international security situation to faculty and students of the School of International and Public Affairs of Shanghai Jiao Tong University.



2009 年 3 月，作者率领中国国际战略学会代表团访问俄罗斯期间与俄罗斯前总理普里马科夫会面。
March 2009: The author led a delegation from the China Institute for International Strategic Studies to visit Russia and met with former Russian Prime Minister Yevgeny Primakov.



2009 年 3 月，作者在法国会见法国国防部战略事务总局副局长巴赞少将。
March 2009: The author met with Maj. Gen. Bazin, Deputy Director of Strategic Affairs of the French Defense Ministry.



2009 年 4 月，作者在北京出席中国国际战略学会成立 30 周年庆祝活动。
April 2009: The author at the celebration marking the 30th anniversary of the founding of the China Institute for International Strategic Studies.


2009 年 10 月，作者作为领队与中国退役高级将领代表团一行在白宫会见时任美国国务卿希拉里。
October 2009: The author led the delegation of retired Chinese generals to meet with then U.S. Secretary of State Hillary Clinton at the White House.



2009 年 11 月，作者在江苏省苏州市会见日本前自民党干事长、原防卫厅长官、时任日中友好协会会长加藤紘一等。

November 2009: The author met with Koichi Kato, former Secretary-General of the LDP, former Minister of Defense Agency of Japan, and then Chairman of the Japan-China Friendship Association and others in Suzhou City of Jiangsu Province.



2010 年 3 月，作者在国防大学就学习与修养问题授课。

March 2010: The author gave a lecture on Issues of Learning and Cultivation at NDU.



2010 年 4 月，作者在国家行政学院就中国的安全及军队建设问题授课。
April 2010: The author gave a lecture on China’s Security Concept and Army Building at National School of Administration.



2010 年 7 月，作者出席中欧国际工商学院举办的意大利前总理普罗迪报告会并发表评论。
July 2010: The author at a lecture by Dr. Romano Prodi, former Prime Minister of Italy, hosted by the China Europe International Business School.



2011 年 5 月，作者出席太湖世界文化论坛首届年会，并主持“中华文明与世界文明”环节的对话。

May 2011: The author attended the first annual conference of the World Cultural Forum (Taihu, China) and acted as moderator for a dialogue on “Chinese Civilization and World Civilizations”.

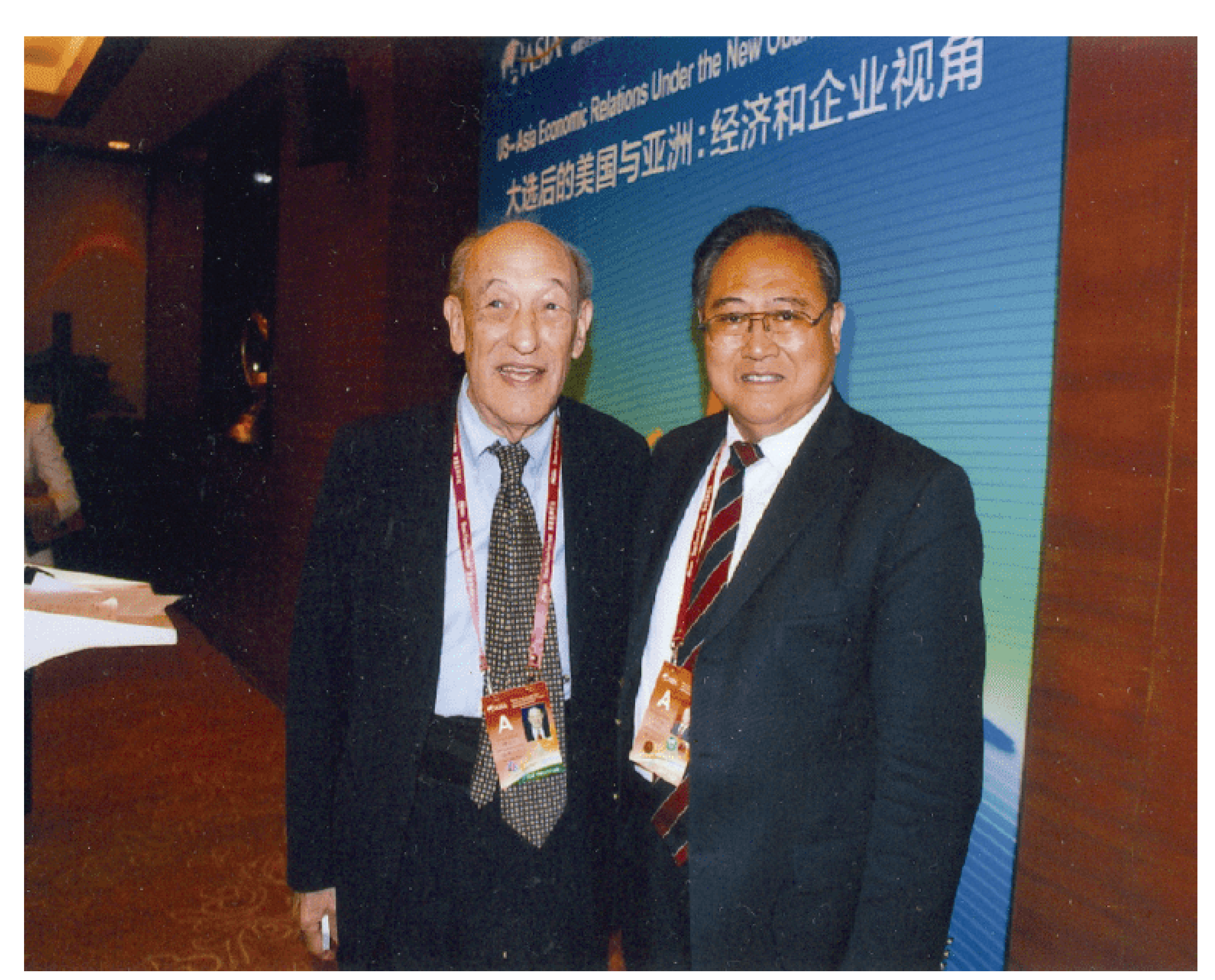


2011 年 11 月，作者在北京出席慕尼黑安全政策会议核心小组会议并发言。

November 2011: The author at the core group meeting of the Munich Security Conference in Beijing.



2012 年 1 月，作者出席中美“二轨”高层对话第三次会议并做午餐演讲。
January 2012: The author gave a luncheon speech at the third meeting of the China-U.S. “Track Two” High-Level Dialogue.



2013 年 4 月，作者出席三亚博鳌论坛，与美国学者傅高义合影。
April 2013: The author attended the Boao Forum for Asia Annual Conference, where he met American scholar Ezra Vogel.



2013 年 12 月，作者在三亚出席财经国际论坛期间出席英国前首相布莱尔小型报告会。

December 2013: The author attended the small-scale lecture meeting given by former British Prime Minister Tony Blair at Sanya Forum.



2014 年 9 月，作者在北京出席“中美建交 35 周年暨卡特先生 90 岁生日晚宴”，席间与美国前总统卡特交谈。

September 2014: The author attended the “Dinner in honor of the 35th Anniversary of the Establishment of China-U.S. Diplomatic Relations and the 90th Birthday of Mr. Jimmy Carter”, and talked with former U.S. President Carter during the event.



2015 年 6 月，作者出席清华大学主办的世界和平论坛，并主持澳大利亚前总理陆克文演讲会。

June 2015: The author attended World Peace Forum organized by Tsinghua University, and hosted the speech delivered by former Australian Prime Minister Kevin Rudd.



2015 年 11 月，作者在北京出席由唐家璇、基辛格牵头召开的中美“二轨”高层对话第五次会议。

November 2015: The author at the fifth meeting of the China-U.S. “Track Two” High-Level Dialogue co-chaired by Tang Jiaxuan and Henry Kissinger in Beijing.

前言

本书作者、中国人民解放军原副总参谋长熊光楷上将既是一位有着半个多世纪丰富外交实践的军事外交家，又是一位对国际战略、国际关系、国际安全和军事现代化建设有着深入研究的学者专家。2003年10月及2006年4月，清华大学出版社曾分别出版作者的两本著作《国际战略与新军事变革》和《国际形势与安全战略》，收录了作者1997年至2005年间的主要论述，得到了国内外国际问题专家、研究人员和众多读者的广泛关注和好评。近十年来，作者的思考与研究工作仍在继续，积累了大量理论文章。现征得作者同意，我们从作者近十年来的论述中精选一些具有代表性的论文进行汇编，以《国际关系与国家安全》之名予以出版。连同此前出版的《国际战略与新军事变革》《国际形势与安全战略》，这三本书形成的系列，反映了近二十年间中国对错综复杂的国际战略格局变迁的应对举措，也见证了一位将军兼学者的不懈思考。

本书主要论述了复杂多变的国际关系，重点关注国际安全和国家安全问题，并兼顾中国国防与军队建设的因应举措。全书共分4个部分：第一部分国际关系与中国外交；第二部分国际安全问题的发展与国际安全合作；第三部分中国的安全观与安全政策；第四部分历史使命与中国军队建设。这些部分既相互关连又彼此区别，既各有侧重又

逻辑相通，可以看成是一个相对完整的整体。汇编过程中，这些文章除个别文字略做调整外未做修改，反映出作者在战略研究过程中坚持的实事求是的严谨作风。对当下及今后一段时间的中国国际战略研究，本书也会有启迪意义。

在本书编选过程中，中国外文出版发行事业局的大卫·弗格森和贺军先生对英文稿进行了认真细致的审校，清华大学出版社马庆洲博士提供了大力协助，在此谨致谢忱。

本书编选组

2016 年 5 月

Foreword

General Xiong Guangkai, author of this book and former Deputy Chief of General Staff of the PLA, is not only a military diplomat with more than half a century's rich diplomatic experience, but also an academic expert with an in-depth knowledge of international strategy, international relations, international security, and military modernization. In October 2003 and April 2006, Tsinghua University Press published Gen. Xiong's two books, *International Strategy and Revolution in Military Affairs* and *International Situation and Security Strategy*. These covered his main thoughts and works from 1997 to 2005, and received wide attention and acclaim from international experts and researchers, and from numerous readers at home and abroad. Gen. Xiong has since continued with his studies and research over the last decade, producing a great number of theoretical papers. Now, with his permission, we have made a selection from his research work over this period and compiled them into this book: *International Relations and National Security*. Together with the previously published works, this new book forms a series that showcases China's efforts to address the

complex evolution of the international strategic landscape over the past two decades, and also bears witness to the tireless efforts of the author, both as a general and a scholar.

The book concentrates on the complex and fluid situation in international relations, with a focus on major international and national security issues as well as considerations of China's corresponding national defense needs and military build-up. The book consists of four parts:

- First, international relations and China's diplomacy;
- Second, the development of security issues and international security cooperation;
- Third, China's security concept and security policy;
- Fourth, historical mission and China's military development.

These parts, which share the same logic while providing both overlapping and contrasting priorities, can be viewed as a relatively integrated whole. During the process of compilation there has been minimal revision to these articles, with the exception of a few minor changes of terminology, reflecting the rigorous style and practical approach the author has always maintained in his strategic studies. The book can also serve to inspire China's international strategic studies at present and in the future.

Thanks to Mr. David Ferguson and Mr. He Jun from China Fareign Languages Publishing Administration for their careful and meticulous review of articles in English during the selecting and editing process, and also to Dr. Ma Qingzhou from Tsinghua University Press for his great assistance.

compiler

May, 2016

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第一部分

国际关系与中国外交

大变动　大调整　大外交*

——对 2006 年及其后一个时期国际形势、国际关系及我国对外工作的认识和体会

2006 年是我国“十一五”时期的开局之年。为维护我国发展的重要战略机遇期，抓住时机加快发展自己，我们需要不断营造有利的外部环境。2006 年 8 月，党中央召开的外事工作会议，从全局和战略的高度，全面分析了国际形势发展变化的新趋势新特点，深刻阐述了新世纪新阶段做好外事工作的重要性和紧迫性，进一步明确了外事工作的指导思想、基本原则、总体要求和主要任务。这对我们研究当前及今后一个时期的国际形势、国际关系，进一步做好对外工作，具有十分重要的指导意义。中央外事工作会议指出：“**和平与发展仍然是当今时代的主题，世界多极化和全球化的趋势在曲折中发展，维护和平、制约战争的因素不断增长，争取较长时期的和平国际环境和良好的周边环境是可以实现的。同时，当今世界又处于大变动、大调整时期，国际形势继续发生深刻复杂变化**。”这里提到的“大变动”和“大调整”，是对国际形势和国际关系的重要判断。据此，中央外事工作会议提出要进一步做好新形势下的外事工作，“**充分发挥政府外交的主渠道作用，加**

* 本文系作者 2006 年 12 月 29 日在中国国际战略学会年会上的主旨讲话。

强和改进政党、人大、政协、军队、地方、民间团体对外交往工作，形成做好外事工作的整体合力。”这实际上提出了我国对外工作要树立“大外交”的思想。概括起来就是，当前和今后一个时期，国际形势正在发生大变动，国际关系正在经历大调整，我们在对外工作中正在积极开展大外交。“大变动、大调整、大外交”既适用于我们对包括2006年在内的过去一段形势和工作的回顾，也适用于我们对今后一个时期的展望。总的看，**2006年是国际形势大变动比较深刻、国际关系大调整比较明显、我国积极开展大外交取得成就比较突出的一年。**

国际形势的大变动

关于当前国际形势的大变动，中央外事工作会议作了全面深入的阐述，概括为“五个继续发展，五个深刻复杂”，即“**当前，世界多极化趋势继续发展，但单极还是多极的斗争依然深刻复杂；经济全球化趋势继续发展，但国际经济竞争依然深刻复杂；不同文明交流继续发展，但国际思想文化领域的斗争依然深刻复杂；国际战略安全形势总体稳定态势继续发展，但人类面临的安全挑战依然深刻复杂；国际协调合作继续发展，但围绕国际秩序的斗争依然深刻复杂。**”这段论述涵盖国际政治、经济、文化、安全和国际秩序五个方面。这些方面都处于大变动当中，相互联系、相互影响。其中，国际安全形势的变动是国际形势大变动比较突出的一个方面，但同时又与国际政治、经济、文化和国际秩序等方面的变动交织互动，与世界多极化、经济全球化、不同文明交流以及国际协调合作密切相关。通过对2006年国际安全形势的回顾，有助于把握当前国际形势大变动的特点。

2006年，国际安全形势保持总体缓和稳定，和平与发展仍然是当今时代的主题，但局部紧张动荡，热点问题此起彼伏，不安全、不稳定因素也在发展，突出表现为传统安全威胁与非传统安全威胁相互交织，国际安全威胁多样化趋势日益明显。

首先，非传统安全威胁继续上升。近年来，以恐怖主义为代表的非传统安全威胁日益凸显，2006 年也是如此。**恐怖与反恐怖的较量仍很激烈。**“9·11”事件五年来，国际反恐斗争取得一定成果。2006 年内，“基地”组织重要头目扎卡维、车臣匪首萨杜拉耶夫等人先后殒命，但国际恐怖活动依然猖獗。据统计，五年来全球恐怖事件数量平均每年以 20%左右的幅度递增，共造成 12200 余人死亡、31100 余人受伤。2006 年（截止到 11 月底），全球发生恐怖事件 593 起，造成 4500 余人死亡、9700 余人受伤，与 2005 年同期相比分别增加 65%、55%和 35%。**能源安全问题仍很突出。**国际市场油价在高位起伏。2006 年 7 月 14 日纽约市场石油期货价格曾创下每桶 78.40 美元的历史纪录，相当于 2003 年每桶 28.15 美元的年平均价格的近 3 倍。此后油价虽有所回落，但仍处在每桶 60 美元左右的高位。围绕能源主产地、能源运输通道的战略竞争进一步趋紧。**公共卫生安全问题仍引起广泛关注。**特别是禽流感疫病更值得高度警惕。据世界卫生组织 2006 年 11 月 29 日发布的最新统计数据，2006 年全球共有 111 人感染禽流感病毒，其中 76 人死亡，与 2005 年全年相比分别增加 14%和 81%。

其次，传统安全威胁仍很突出。从国际上看，局部战争与武装冲突数量居高不下。据统计，自 1945 年至 1989 年，全球共发生局部战争和武装冲突 197 起，平均每年新发生约 4.5 起。自 1990 年至 2005 年的 16 年间，全球共发生局部战争和武装冲突 203 起，平均每年新发生 12 起以上，大大超出“冷战”时期的平均水平。2006 年，全球延续下来的和新发生的局部战争和武装冲突共 44 起，比 2005 年增加 5 起，是“冷战”结束以来的又一个“峰年”；其中新发生 14 起，与 2005 年大体持平。**扩散与反扩散斗争日趋尖锐。**2006 年，朝鲜于 7 月和 10 月分别试射导弹和进行核试，朝核问题趋于复杂。经包括中国在内的各方努力，六方会谈于 12 月 18 日至 22 日在北京举行，但有关局势发展还有较大不确定性。同时，伊朗核问题仍陷僵局，美、欧、伊虽均为转圜留有一定余地，但化解矛盾并不容易。朝核、伊核问题的突出，使国际核不扩散机制受到严重冲击。

从我国看，**当前和今后一个时期内，对我国国家安全最大、最现实的威胁还是“台独”分裂势力。**2006年，我对台工作取得新的进展。但陈水扁不顾岛内外的强烈反对，于2月公然决定终止“国统会”、“国统纲领”，在走向“台湾法理独立”的道路上迈出了严重一步。此后，陈水扁又加紧推动“宪改”，多次声称将另订“新宪”，开启“第二共和”，以“台湾”名义加入联合国等，表明其顽固坚持“台独”分裂立场。我们以最大的诚意、尽最大的努力维护和促进两岸关系和平稳定发展，争取和平统一前景。但是我们坚决反对“台独”，绝不允许“台独”分裂势力以任何名义、任何方式把台湾从祖国分裂出去。

国际关系的大调整

当前，在全球和地区范围内，无论是多边关系还是双边关系，都在经历新一轮大调整，多极化趋势在曲折中继续发展。

2006年多边关系的调整比较明显。以联合国为中心舞台的全球多边关系继续深刻调整。联合国权威明显增强。2006年（截止到12月15日），联合国安理会已通过78项决议，是十多年来通过决议最多的年份。在朝核、伊核等重大热点问题上，安理会成员特别是常任理事国之间共识增多，在通过决议过程中加强了协调。联合国改革取得一定成果，人权理事会、建设和平委员会相继成立，但有关各方围绕安理会“增常”问题继续展开深层较量。来自韩国的潘基文顺利当选联合国新任秘书长，系亚洲人时隔35年后再度出任该职，意义重大。**以区域合作为主要载体的地区多边关系继续深刻调整。**随着经济全球化深入发展，为妥善应对全球化带来的“双刃剑”效应，区域化潮流蓬勃发展。这既是全球化的反映和重要补充，又是应对全球化负面影响、趋利避害的重要途径。区域化与全球化相互交织、相辅相成。2006年，欧盟、东盟、非盟等为推进内部一体化作出了新的努力，上合组织、亚太经合组织、亚欧会议取得新的合作成果。一年来，全球范围内各地区组织共召开了约40余次峰会，为近年来所少有。在多边关

系调整中，我国审时度势，积极开展多边外交，特别是成功举办上合组织峰会、中国—东盟纪念峰会和中非合作论坛北京峰会等重大活动，取得了丰硕成果。

2006年双边关系特别是大国关系的调整也比较明显。对我国而言，这既是多边外交取得丰硕成果的一年，也是双边关系特别是与大国关系调整和发展重要的一年。

一是中美建设性合作关系取得新的进展。自2001年10月江泽民主席与布什总统一致同意中美两国共同致力于发展建设性合作关系以来，中美关系保持总体稳定并不断发展。2006年，中美建设性合作关系取得了新的成果。胡锦涛主席于4月成功访美，年内与布什总统举行3次会晤、5次通话，双方达成重要共识，即中美双方不仅是利益攸关方，而且是建设性合作者。两国经贸合作继续扩大，战略经济对话机制正式启动。中美军事交流取得新的进展，两军首次举行了海上联合搜救演习。中美关系继续保持总体平稳的良好发展势头。

二是中俄战略协作伙伴关系深入发展。自1996年4月江泽民主席与叶利钦总统决定建立“平等信任、面向21世纪的战略协作伙伴关系”以来，中俄关系不断取得进展。2006年3月普京总统来华出席“俄罗斯年”开幕式，6月普京总统再度来华出席上海合作组织峰会，7月胡锦涛主席赴俄出席八国集团与发展中国家领导人对话会议。年内，胡主席与普京总统共5次会面。两国在政治互信、经贸合作、军事交流、社会交往和国际领域合作等各方面都达到新高度。我国成功举办“俄罗斯年”，包括8个国家级大型活动项目和207个其他项目，涵盖政治、经贸、文化、教卫体、传媒、科技、军事和地方合作等各个领域，活动规模之大、内容之丰富前所未有，有力地推动了中俄关系的深入发展。

对外工作的大外交

当前国际形势大变动和国际关系大调整的战略背景，对我们继续营造有利外部环境既提供了重要机遇，也提出了新的挑战。为此，我

们应进一步树立和强化“大外交”观念。“大外交”要求我们通过政府外交主渠道以及其他各种对外工作渠道达到中央外事工作会议提出的以下目标，即“**积极营造和平稳定的国际环境、睦邻友好的周边环境、平等互利的合作环境、互信协作的安全环境、客观友善的舆论环境**”。2006 年，我们积极开展大外交，在营造上述“五大环境”方面取得了比较突出的成绩。

一是坚持和平发展，积极营造和平稳定的国际环境。中国是最大的发展中国家，坚持走和平发展的道路，通过维护世界和平来发展自己，又通过自身的发展来促进世界和平。**积极履行安理会常任理事国的责任义务。**积极推动联合国改革进程，注意顾及广大发展中国家的合理权益；积极参与围绕热点问题的外交斡旋，特别是在安理会通过涉及朝核问题等决议上发挥了重要作用，既表达了对朝试导与核试的强烈反对，又避免了对朝全面制裁或动武；一直足额、及时、无条件地履行在联合国所承担的财政义务，缴纳会费所占份额从过去的 0.995%上升到 2.053%（从 2007 年起至 2009 年将进一步上升到 2.67%），在联合国所有会员国中列第九位，在发展中国家列第一位。**积极参加联合国维和行动。**截至 2006 年 11 月底，我军共参与联合国 16 项维和行动，派出维和军事人员 5915 人次，是安理会五常中派出维和部队人数最多的国家。2006 年我还应联合国请求，向黎巴嫩和苏丹任务区又派遣维和部队 617 人、军事观察员和参谋军官 31 人，获得良好的国际反响。**积极实施力所能及的国际援助。**截止到 2006 年 9 月，我国向 49 个最不发达国家提供了 1701 笔援助或援款，免除了 36 个最不发达国家的 172 笔对华债务。

二是坚持对话合作，积极营造睦邻友好的周边环境。中国坚持“与邻为善、以邻为伴”的周边外交方针，不断加强双边和区域合作。**我国与东盟关系处于历史最好时期。**我于 2006 年 10 月成功举办中国—东盟建立对话关系 15 周年纪念峰会，与东盟国家在继续深化双方面向和平与繁荣的战略伙伴关系方面取得诸多重要成果，双方关系进入了一个更加强劲、更加深入、更具活力的发展阶段。**我国与中亚**

国家关系不断深化。我与中亚各国的双边关系日益密切，特别是我国于6月成功举办上海合作组织成员国峰会，进一步促进了我国与中亚国家在上合组织框架内的友好合作关系。**我国与南亚国家关系全面发展。**胡主席于11月下旬成功访问印度和巴基斯坦，与印方就推动中印战略合作伙伴关系不断向前发展达成重要共识，与巴方共同确认全天候友谊和全方位合作已成为中巴关系的显著特征。

三是坚持合作共赢，积极营造平等互利的合作环境。中国坚持在平等互利、不附加任何政治条件的基础上，积极参加国际经济合作与竞争，妥善应对涉华经贸摩擦。**对外贸易空前增长。**入世5年来，我对外贸易连续保持20%以上的年增长率。2006年，我国与欧、美、日等主要经济体贸易额继续保持较快增长。截至11月底，我国外贸总值已达近1.6万亿美元，比2005年同期增长24.3%。**妥善应对经贸摩擦。**我国坚持互利共赢的方针，遵守世贸组织规则和相关国际惯例，妥善处理涉华经贸摩擦，在人民币汇率改革、知识产权保护等问题上都采取了负责任的态度和措施。

四是坚持共同安全，积极营造互信协作的安全环境。中国坚持互信、互利、平等、协作的新安全观，以对话增进互信，以协商化解矛盾，以合作谋求稳定。**在防扩散方面，**中国本着负责任的态度，运用自身独特地位及影响力，积极进行外交斡旋，为妥善解决朝核、伊核问题发挥了重要作用，特别是促成六方会谈复会，对维护国际防扩散体系做出了重要贡献。**在国际反恐合作方面，**2006年3月，中国参加了上海合作组织框架下的联合反恐演习，并于8月、9月、12月分别与哈萨克斯坦、塔吉克斯坦和巴基斯坦举行了联合反恐演习。**在能源安全合作方面，**中国政府提出了"互利合作、多元发展、协同保障"的新能源安全观，积极促进国际能源安全对话与合作。**在公共卫生安全合作方面，**中国已基本建立对禽流感等重大传染性疾病的及时通报机制；中国政府还全力支持陈冯富珍女士成功当选世卫组织总干事，积极推动世界卫生事业发展。

五是坚持增信释疑，积极营造客观友善的舆论环境。中国政府高

度重视舆论工作，通过政府、民间等多种渠道，运用广播、电视、互联网等多种媒介，加强对外宣传，并大力开展对外文化交流。一年来，国务院新闻办举办50多次新闻发布会，邀请数十位部级和司局级领导介绍政策、发布信息，并发表《2006年中国的航天》、《2006年中国的国防》等白皮书。截至2006年底，我国已在49个国家和地区建立了123所孔子学院，在全球范围内带动了一场“汉语热”。CCTV第4、第9及西班牙语法语频道三个国际频道在海外落地总用户数已超过6500万。目前，我国面临的国际舆论环境正在发生重要变化，各国媒体的涉华报道逐年增多，积极正面的报道明显增加。

总之，2006年既是国际形势继续发生大变动、国际关系继续经历大调整的一年，也是我国积极开展大外交并取得丰硕成果的一年。回顾过去，展望未来，我们更加深刻地体会到，这次中央外事工作会议是党中央加强和改进外事工作的重大战略举措，非常重要、非常及时。我们要深入学习领会和贯彻执行中央外事工作会议精神，坚持统筹国内国际两个大局，坚持走和平发展道路，为国家繁荣富强、人民幸福安康、世界和平与发展作出新的更大贡献。

从“和平共处”到“和平发展”再到“和平发展、合作共赢”*

要正确理解当前的中美关系的定位，必须着眼于新中国成立后中国国际战略发展的历史脉络，正确理解中美关系的历史方位。应该说，当前的中美关系，已不处于“冷战”时期，而是处于后“冷战”时期向着“冷战”后时期过渡的阶段。当然，我们还不能做出当前中美关系已经进入“冷战”后时期的论断，因为“冷战”思维还没有完全消除。但正因为如此，我们才应该为构建中美新型大国关系而共同做出努力。

早在 2012 年，在习近平还担任国家副主席的时候，习近平就提出了构建中美新型大国关系的主张。2013 年，习近平担任国家主席后与奥巴马实现了庄园会晤，达成了共同构建中美新型大国关系的共识。这是中美之间非常重要的共识。对于中美新型大国关系，中国的理解是“不冲突、不对抗，相互尊重，合作共赢”。其中，“不冲突、不对抗”，就很明显的是不再搞“冷战”那一套；“相互尊重，合作共赢”，其目标“共赢”集中体现了区别于“冷战”时期的“零和”观念。可以说，新型大国关系应该是不同于“冷战”时期的大国国际关系。

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* 本文系作者 2014 年 11 月 1 日与美国学者兰普顿谈话的记录整理。

要正确理解中美新型大国关系，必须把它放到“冷战”结束之后的新的国际战略格局中，还必须把它放到中国国际战略发展的历史脉络之中去。

新中国成立后，针对当时的国际战略环境，中国提出了和平共处五项原则。和平共处，就是希望在“冷战”的大背景下，国与国之间能够在避免大战的和平基础上求得共同存在。虽然这个目标调子并不高，但切合实际，在当时这是非常具有建设性的。至今，中国仍然坚持和平共处的原则，在中国阐释外交政策时常常引用，“和平共处”的原则仍然具有不可忽视的积极作用。但不应忽略和平共处是在很强的“冷战”背景下提出的。和平共处只是一个较低的要求，只是在“冷战”的大背景寻求解决共同生存的问题。

中国改革开放后，邓小平提出了和平发展的战略思想。与和平共处相比，和平发展更加积极，要求更高，因为和平发展是在共同生存的基础上进一步谋求共同发展，从而突破了“冷战”时期的国际秩序模式，着眼于未来，着眼于发展。

在邓小平之后，江泽民、胡锦涛、习近平在和平共处、和平发展的基础上越来越突出地强调谋求合作共赢，更加明确地要求走出“冷战”时期，摒弃“零和”冷战思维模式，走向 win-win“共赢”。

中美新型大国关系就应该放到从“和平共处”到“和平发展”再到“和平发展、合作共赢”这样一个一脉相承、不断发展的国际战略思想的背景下来理解，应该动态地、持续地、用发展的眼光来理解。中国提出构建中美新型大国关系是希望中美关系符合整个时代发展的特点。

如何构建和发展中美新型大国关系？我认为要重视处理好几个重大的问题。

1. 台湾问题。这是中美之间最重要的问题。构建中美新型大国关系必须建立在一个中国、反对台独的基础上。应按照中美关于台湾问题的三个联合公报的原则来处理。不管台湾哪个党执政，只要不分裂国家，大陆都会与之合作，关键是要反对台湾独立。

2. 日本问题。日本问题是“二战”遗留问题。“二战”中，日本是战败国，就不能否定战败国的历史地位。日本现在向右走得很远，明显在翻“二战”的案子。日本企图修宪反对中国，其实首当其冲的是反对美国，因为正是美国占领日本期间制定了日本现有宪法。

中国一直致力于改善中日关系。例如，毛泽东时代，中国放弃对日索赔。2006 年，安倍晋三第一次执政期间，按照中国人民外交学会杨文昌会长的安排，我与赵启正等一起访问日本，安倍会见了我们。他知道我们是为了改善中日关系、缓和小泉执政期间冷淡的中日关系而来。当时，安倍主张，中日之间经济关系要发展，政治问题可以放下来，经济与政治这两个轮子不一定要一起转，可以政冷经热。而我们认为，最好的办法是两个轮子一起转，这样才有利于协调发展。就在这次会见中，安倍表示，他也希望两个轮子一起转。这应该是他第一次如此表示。安倍第二个任期的表现，既有他本人的原因，也是日本政治生态进一步右倾化的反映。在安倍第二次执政前，我曾经见过日本自民党的石破茂。石破茂就说，他想通过推动修宪，利用日本政治右倾化的动向，推动自民党重新上台执政。当时我就明确表示了反对。明年是“二战”胜利七十周年，应从维护“二战”成果，维护“二战”后国际秩序及美国利益的角度认真考虑日本政治右倾化问题。

3. 中美俄关系问题。“冷战”前期，中俄联合防美。上世纪七十年代，中美一度联合起来对付俄。那时候，中美俄之间是典型的“冷战”时期的大国“三角”关系，一方要挑拨和利用另外两方的矛盾。当今时代的中美俄关系是怎样的呢？2008 年，我和中国国际战略学会的同事们邀请一些美国和俄罗斯的朋友，在上海交通大学召开了一次中美俄三边关系研讨会。在那一次会议上，我们达成共识，中美俄关系不应是相互制造矛盾、利用矛盾的三角关系，而应该是相互发展彼此关系的三边关系。虽然中美俄之间不是等边关系，存在着这个边长那个边短的不均衡的情况，但不应该是“冷战”期间的三角关系。从那一年起，我们每年都召开三边关系研讨会，基本取得了三个成果：首先，中

美俄三边关系是世界上最重要的三边关系，但三个国家即 G3 或其中两个国家即 G2 不能“共治”世界；其次，现在的三边关系中，中俄最近，中美其次，美俄最远；第三，虽然中美俄之间存在边长边短的区别，但中美俄已经不再是“冷战”时期的三角关系，中俄也不是结盟反美的关系，中美俄三边关系的良性发展有待于中美俄三国的努力。

把握中美俄关系新变化　保持三边关系总体稳定发展*

当今世界，各国之间相互联系日益紧密、相互依存不断加深。大国关系的良性互动，有利于世界秩序的和平稳定，反之则会加剧国际形势的动荡不安。近年来，国际形势风云变幻，世界秩序加速演变，和平与发展的问题更为突出，合作与共赢的呼声愈加高涨。在这一大背景下，如何保持中美俄三边关系总体稳定发展，值得我们共同深入思考。我重点讲三个问题。

一、中美俄三边关系的新变化新特点

过去的 2014 年，美俄、中俄、中美三组双边关系呈现出不同的互动模式和发展趋势，深刻牵动着国际战略格局演变和大国关系调整，中美俄三边关系面临新的机遇与挑战。

美俄矛盾急剧上升至新的高峰。“冷战”结束后，美俄关系呈现出合作与竞争并存、缓和与紧张交替的总体特征。但 2013 年底以来，乌克兰政局风云突变，从亚努科维奇政权垮台到克里米亚公投入俄，持

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* 本文系作者 2015 年 4 月为中国国际战略学会与上海交通大学联合举办的中美俄三边关系学术研讨会进入第八个年头而写。

续发酵的乌克兰危机使俄与美西方国家关系一度降至“冰点”。美西方国家对俄实施多轮制裁，将俄排挤出八国集团。俄罗斯则通过关注经济、军事示强等多措并举予以反制，双方发生“冷战”结束以来最为激烈的地缘政治碰撞。美俄“针尖对麦芒”的交锋，使一些西方战略家热议两国关系进入“新冷战”。但这种说法不免言过其实，容易造成误导。目前，俄美围绕乌克兰问题的博弈还在持续，两国结构性矛盾短期难解，对立仍可能是近期美俄关系的主旋律。

中俄关系处于历史最好时期。过去的一年，中俄关系保持了高水平运行。两国高层互访频繁，习近平主席连续第二年首访俄罗斯，俄罗斯总统普京两次来华，两国元首五次会晤，加强发展双边关系的顶层设计和战略引领，推动中俄全面战略协作伙伴关系进入新阶段。亚信会议第四次峰会期间，中俄签署了 50 多项合作文件，许多重大战略性项目取得突破性进展。提出建立全面的中俄能源合作伙伴关系，签署《中俄东线天然气合作项目备忘录》以及西线天然气管道供气协议。两国在跨境基础设施建设、高新技术、联合演训等领域的合作也“多处开花”。中俄经贸合作“逆势上扬”，2014 年双边贸易额增长 6.8%，突破 950 亿美元。中俄在涉及彼此核心利益问题上继续相互支持，在打击“三股势力”、维护国际信息安全等领域的安全合作不断深化，在应对国际危机和地区热点问题上保持密切沟通，为促进世界和平、稳定与繁荣发挥了重要作用。

中美关系在曲折中取得新发展。中美建交 36 年来，两国关系历经风风雨雨，但总体不断向前。2013 年，习主席在美国安纳伯格庄园提出构建“不冲突不对抗，相互尊重，合作共赢”中美新型大国关系的重大倡议，翻开了两国关系新的一页，中美关系站在新的起点上。2014 年，中美新型大国关系建设迈出了坚实步伐。两国元首继庄园会晤之后又续瀛台夜话，就中美关系发展和事关国际及地区和平发展的重大问题深入交换看法，大大充实了中美新型大国关系内涵。双方在应对气候变化、签证互惠安排等领域取得重要成果，特别是两国国防部签署了重大军事行动相互通报信任措施机制和关于海空相遇安全

行为准则谅解备忘录，这在两军交往史上尚属首次，是加强对彼此战略意图了解、增强战略互信和管控危机、预防风险的重要措施。中美战略与经济对话和人文交流高层磋商达成300多项具体成果，对两国在双边、地区、全球层面广泛领域对话合作做出明确规划。但同时，中美关系发展还不断出现杂音，如美方为达赖窜访“开绿灯”，美军保持高频度对华抵近侦察，在网络安全、对台军售等方面还不时显现消极动向，这些都对中美关系持续健康稳定发展形成了阻力和干扰。

二、未来一个时期中美俄三国的战略走向

大国的战略意图直接影响其政策走向和对外关系。用历史的望远镜眺望未来、求同存异，而不是用显微镜放大分歧、挑动矛盾，有助于三国有效管控风险、避免误解误判，保持三边关系稳定发展。

“稳西拓东”是俄罗斯打破孤立、摆脱困境的重大抉择。乌克兰危机以及美西方国家的多轮制裁，使俄与美西方国家的高层对话和各领域合作几乎全面“停摆”，其经济遭遇了2008年国际金融危机以来最严重的困难。面对艰难处境，俄一方面表明了不会屈服于西方压力的强硬立场，普京去年12月发表国情咨文时明确表示“俄不会允许美西方像肢解南斯拉夫那样瓦解俄”；另一方面，俄也在寻求与西方达成一定缓和与妥协，同样在国情咨文中，普京强调“俄在任何情况下都不打算全面恶化与美欧的关系，更不会因此选择自我孤立”，向西方传递了俄不愿对抗、希望平等合作的信号。今年2月，俄罗斯、德国、法国、乌克兰四国就乌克兰危机达成“新明斯克协议”，表明俄避免冲突升级、谋求改善与西方关系的意愿。同时，俄积极向东发展，加大对亚太地区事务战略关注，深化与地区国家务实合作，以期利用亚太地区的巨大发展潜力，拓展更大战略回旋空间，为维护俄国家安全、发展国内经济、重振大国地位创造有利外部环境。

推进亚太“再平衡”是美国不断调整的既定方略。亚太“再平衡”战略是美总统奥巴马任内推出的最重要外交举措之一。目前，奥巴马

第二任期已进入后半程，亚太“再平衡”战略将成为其着力打造的外交“遗产”，不会轻易改弦更张。过去一段时期，奥巴马等美政要多次访问亚太，重申经略亚太的重要性，强调任何国际和地区热点都不会影响美推行亚太“再平衡”战略的决心。可以预见，未来一个时期，美从其全球战略出发，仍会将战略关注和力量投送重点锁定亚太。同时应该看到，美推进这一战略不会一帆风顺，需要不断调整。去年 11 月美国中期选举后，共和党控制了参众两院，奥巴马进入“跛鸭”状态，加之美削减预算、增加就业、社会改革等国内问题亟待解决，美政府有效施政面临不少掣肘。乌克兰危机、“伊斯兰国”坐大等热点问题此起彼伏，左支右绌的局面对美亚太战略形成更多牵制。

中国特色大国外交是我国的不懈追求。十八大以来，中国牢牢把握坚持和平发展、促进民族复兴这条主线，积极构建以合作共赢为核心的新型国际关系，中国特色大国外交展现出世界上最大的发展中国家积极进取的昂扬姿态。2014 年，我们成功举办上海亚信峰会和北京 APEC 两大主场外交活动，在历史上留下深刻的中国印记；习主席亲自倡导“一带一路”战略构想，与沿线各国共同打造政治互信、经济融合、文化包容的利益共同体、责任共同体和命运共同体；在应对巴以冲突、埃博拉疫情等国际和地区事务中发挥了建设性作用。今后一个时期，中国将在保持外交大政方针连续性和稳定性的基础上，拓展全方位外交，全面推进“一带一路”，积极贡献处理当代国际关系的中国智慧，努力让中国梦与世界梦交相辉映。

三、保持中美俄关系总体稳定发展的共赢之道

形势决定任务，挑战蕴含机遇。在国际舞台上地位和作用举足轻重的中美俄三国，应不断创造利益契合点，增进战略互信、扩大互利合作、积极寻求共赢，携手做国际安全的维护者、共同发展的促进者、国际体系的建设者，走出一条共建、共享、共赢之路。

一是坚持把增强互信作为发展三边关系的根本前提。人与人交

往只有言而有信，才能坦诚相待、加深友谊；国与国相处只有重信守诺，才能求同化异、和睦共存。中国有句古话：“以利相交，利尽则散；以势相交，势去则倾；惟以心相交，方成其久远。”信任的建立，说到底要靠我们心通意合。只有拿出诚意，真正尊重彼此国家主权、安全、发展等核心利益，真正尊重彼此合理关切，才能筑牢“相互信任”这个基础。以对话协商方式凝聚共识，以互谅互让精神处理分歧，以面向未来的眼光跨越矛盾，是增进互信的有效途径和可靠保障。历史无法更改，但未来可以塑造，信任可以培植。沟通是建立信任的前提。三国特别应彼此坦诚相待，就各自外交政策和发展战略进行充分交流，明确表达不冲突、不对抗的意图，从而避免战略误判，摆脱过去传统大国与新兴大国必然冲突的“修昔底德陷阱”。特别是对中国来说，我们仍是发展中国家，既不当老大，也不搞扩张，需要良好的国际环境，尽最大努力维护和延长战略机遇期。中国历来守信明义、讲信修睦，今后也将继续秉持互尊互信理念，增信释疑，避免误判。

二是坚持把扩大合作作为发展三边关系的现实路径。合作是稳定关系的压舱石，促进关系的助推器。回顾历史，很多曾困扰双边、多边关系的问题都在携手合作与共同发展中一一化解。今后一个时期，中美俄应不断扩大双边合作范围，通过宽领域深层次高水平的合作筑牢稳定关系的基石。同时，进一步加强三边合作，共同应对全球性挑战。当前，世界经济仍处于深度调整之中，作为世界主要经济体，中美俄应继续同舟共济、携手合作，把经济合作作为优先问题来处理，为各领域合作创造更好条件。恐怖主义是人类的共同威胁。面对恐怖主义带来的新挑战，中美俄应进一步密切反恐合作，根据彼此在反恐问题上的轻重缓急和关切重点，寻找重大关切的汇集点，优先开展合作。今年是世界反法西斯战争胜利70周年，也是联合国成立70周年。三国应以此为契机，进一步加强沟通协调，共同维护“二战”胜利果实和战后国际秩序，向国际社会展示维护世界和平与安全的坚定决心。

三是坚持把寻求共赢作为发展三边关系的目标方向。在全球化的大背景下，国与国利益交融、兴衰相伴、安危与共，日益成为你中有

我、我中有你的命运共同体。冷战思维、零和博弈行不通，合作共赢才是阳光大道。当前，中美俄三国之间利益交融达到前所未有的广度和深度，共同利益远大于分歧争端，合作面远大于冲突面，比以往任何时候都更有条件朝和平与发展的目标迈进。共赢之道就是实现这一目标应秉持的正确理念。在追求本国利益时照顾他国合理关切，在谋求自身发展中促进其他各国共同发展，抛弃单打独斗的老做法，摒弃赢者通吃的旧思维，坚持不懈推动合作共赢，不断深化利益交融格局，这样才能真正实现中美俄三边关系健康稳定发展。比如，在乌克兰问题上，基辛格博士曾提出他的理念，即不要让乌克兰成为东西方对抗的前哨，而应化为沟通东西方之间的桥梁。我个人认为这个理念很值得大家思考。我始终坚信，只要坚持相向而行、彼此照顾、彼此适应的原则，就能通过各国共同努力，让热点地区和冲突地带成为促进合作的桥头堡和化解矛盾的缓冲带。

大国关系的脉动是时代潮流的重要推动力量。古人云，“一人为人，三人为众”。中美俄三国携起手来，就能释放出强大的正能量。让我们抓住机遇、携手前行，在沟通中互尊互信、在交往中互学互鉴、在合作中实现共赢，共同开创三边关系新局面，推动建设持久和平、共同繁荣的美好世界。

第二部分

安全问题的发展与国际安全合作

关于非传统安全问题*

女士们，先生们，同志们，朋友们：

很高兴能够参加今天的非传统安全问题研讨会，与各界朋友相聚一堂，共同探讨怎样认识和应对非传统安全问题这个重要的课题。党的十七大报告将“**传统安全威胁和非传统安全威胁相互交织**”作为世界和平与发展面临的一大难题和挑战。这反映出非传统安全问题总体上已从以往局部的、潜在的问题，演变成全球性的现实威胁。非传统安全威胁不断上升，并与传统安全威胁相互交织，是当前国际安全形势的一个突出特点，也是我们必须认真思考和妥善应对的一个重大课题。中国古人说过，“世异则事异”，“事异则备变”（《韩非子·五蠹》）。因此，我非常赞同这次会议就如何看待和应对非传统安全问题展开深入研讨。

今天，我想和大家一起讨论三个方面的问题：一是什么是非传统安全问题，二是什么是大安全观念，三是什么是新安全观。

一、关于非传统安全问题

非传统安全问题作为一个广受关注的概念的出现，是在“冷战”后

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* 本文系作者 2007 年 12 月 15 日在中国国际战略学会安全战略研究中心“非传统安全—世界与中国”论坛上所做主旨发言。

特别是“9·11”事件之后。但实际上非传统安全问题并不是全新的事物，而是古已有之。在相当长时期内，大多数国家面临的主要安全威胁是涉及领土、主权、政权等方面的传统安全问题。直至“9·11”事件发生后，以恐怖主义为代表的非传统安全威胁日益突出，这一问题才引起国际社会的广泛关注，一些西方国家甚至将非传统安全问题看作本国面临的主要安全威胁。

关于非传统安全威胁概念的内涵和外延，有着各种不同的解释，目前还没有一个统一公认的看法，但各种不同的解释、看法也存在许多共性。依据我国政府发表的文件，并参考学术界有关研究成果，我认为对传统安全威胁和非传统安全威胁可以考虑做出以下界定：

传统安全威胁是指对各国生存安全特别是对国家领土、主权完整和国家统一、政权稳定等核心利益构成的威胁，包括军事、政治和外交等方面，尤其是军事安全威胁。

非传统安全威胁是相对于军事、政治和外交等传统安全威胁而言的，指除此以外的其他对主权国家及人类整体生存与发展构成威胁的因素，主要包括恐怖主义、能源安全、粮食安全、水资源安全、金融安全、信息安全、文化安全、环境安全，以及贩毒走私、严重传染性疾病、海盗活动、非法移民等方面的安全威胁，甚至部分空间安全威胁。

非传统安全威胁与传统安全威胁相比，有一些新的特征：**一是跨国性**。非传统安全威胁超越了传统安全以各国疆界为主的地理空间，范围不限定在一个国家或国家与国家之间，具有明显的跨国性。无论是恐怖主义、网络安全、跨国犯罪，还是金融危机、环境污染、疫病传播，都不是孤立地存在于某一国家或简单地发生在国家与国家之间的问题，而会影响到所在地区甚至可能成为全球性的问题。**二是扩散性**。在全球化深入发展的大背景下，许多非传统安全威胁具有明显的扩散效应。如在东亚、拉美先后爆发过的金融危机，始于一个国家，而最终波及整个地区，而且随着其不断扩散，其危害性也逐渐积聚、递增，以致酿成更大危机。最近，美国的次级房贷危机不仅引起美国股市大跌、房地产市场低迷，也引发全球金融市场动荡，并可能导致世界

经济增速放缓。**三是多样性**。传统安全主要是军事、政治、外交安全，核心是军事安全，而非传统安全威胁远远超出了这些范畴。如能源危机、金融危机等主要与经济领域相关，跨国犯罪、毒品走私等主要与公共安全领域相关，环境污染、自然灾害等主要与自然领域相关。非传统安全威胁的多样性，使其较传统安全威胁更为复杂，仅靠单一手段难以有效治理。**四是突发性**。传统安全威胁从萌芽、酝酿、激化到导致武装冲突和战争，往往会通过矛盾不断积聚、性质逐渐演变的渐进过程，并表现出许多征兆。而许多非传统安全威胁缺少明显的征兆，经常会突如其来地迅速爆发。据有关资料，1990 年以来全球有 100 多起影响较大的恐怖事件，都是在毫无防范的情况下发生的。从 20 世纪 80 年代出现的艾滋病，到近年来的“疯牛病”、“非典”、禽流感等，当人们意识到其严重性时，已经造成很大危害。此外，某些非传统安全威胁如网络安全、金融危机、传染性疾病等往往不是来自某个国家，而更可能由非国家行为体如某些组织甚至个人所造成，其威胁的形成过程也带有很大的随机性，使防范的难度明显增大。

当前，国际社会面临的最突出的非传统安全威胁是恐怖主义。中东—中亚—南亚—东南亚“弧形地带”是国际恐怖活动的“重灾区”，特别是伊拉克、阿富汗、巴基斯坦等地恐怖势力活动猖獗，成为国际恐怖活动的高发地区。据统计，2007 年 1—11 月全球共发生恐怖事件 790 余起，造成 6000 余人死亡、12100 余人受伤，与 2006 年相较同比分别增加 34%、32%和 25%。其中伤亡 100 人以上的重大恶性恐怖事件 31 起，较 2006 年同期增加 35%。与此同时，**恐怖袭击活动呈现出高技术化趋势**。1995 年日本奥姆真理教使用了“沙林”毒气，2006 年英国“8・10”未遂炸机案中恐怖分子使用的是液体炸药。恐怖手段与 CBRNE 武器（化学武器、生物武器、放射性物质、核武器、烈性炸药）的结合，使国际社会面临更为严峻复杂的恐怖威胁。

在国际恐怖主义依然猖獗的背景下，任何一个国家都难以独善其身。从我国的情况来看，我们国家安全面临的主要威胁仍然是涉及国家统一，领土、主权完整的传统安全威胁。但以恐怖主义为代表的非

传统安全威胁也不可忽视。当前我们面临的主要恐怖威胁是“东突”恐怖势力,“东伊运”、“东解”、“东突信息中心”等恐怖组织不断策划对我实施破坏活动。此外,我在国外的机构、人员遭受袭击的次数逐渐增多。今年截至 11 月,共发生我国公民在海外遭受恐怖袭击事件 11 起,造成 13 人死亡、11 人受伤。

中国政府反对恐怖主义的态度和政策是非常明确的。但是,这并不意味着我们支持西方国家以反恐为名所进行的一切活动。在反恐问题上,我国与西方国家既有共识,也有分歧。**首先,对恐怖主义与霸权主义的关系认识有区别**。我们反对一切形式的恐怖主义,也反对各种形式的霸权主义和强权政治,我们反对用恐怖主义去反对霸权主义和强权政治,也反对用霸权主义和强权政治去反对恐怖主义。**其次,对恐怖主义的根源分析有区别**。西方国家有些人将恐怖主义与阿拉伯民族、伊斯兰宗教或伊斯兰文明联系在一起,认为这是产生恐怖主义的根源。我们反对将反恐扩大化,反对任意将恐怖主义与某个民族、某种宗教、某种文明挂钩,反对加剧民族矛盾、宗教仇恨、文明冲突和各国人民之间的隔阂。**第三,对恐怖组织的界定有区别**。2003 年 12 月 15 日,我国公安部公布了第一批认定的 4 个“东突”恐怖组织和 11 名“东突”恐怖分子名单。其中,“东突厥斯坦伊斯兰运动”于 2002 年被联合国和美国认定为恐怖组织。但是,美国没有承认其他 3 个组织是恐怖组织。这说明美国及一些西方国家在恐怖组织及人员的界定上在搞双重标准。

二、关于大安全观念

刚才我们讲到国家安全的内涵和外延在不断拓展和延伸,原来主要把安全看作是以国家领土、主权完整和国家统一、政权稳定为核心利益的传统安全,但随着形势的发展,非传统安全问题逐渐显现,也成为各国维护国家安全时面临的突出问题。“传统安全威胁和非传统安

全威胁相互交织”，这是**从纵向的、历史发展的角度来看国家安全内涵的发展演变。**

如果**从横向的、综合的角度来看**，国家安全的内涵和外延也在不断拓展和延伸，已是覆盖军事、政治、经济、文化、信息、金融、能源、环境、粮食、水资源、公共卫生甚至部分空间等诸多领域的安全问题。这就要求我们树立大安全观念，全面、综合地看待国家安全面临的威胁。

从今年情况看，经济安全、能源安全、气候变化问题是当前比较突出的非传统安全问题。下面，我就以经济安全、能源安全和气候变化问题为例，谈谈我们应该如何以大安全观念来重视这些非传统安全问题。

首先，经济安全问题不容忽视。当前我国经济安全面临来自国内外两个方面的挑战。在国内，存在经济增速过快、房地产市场过热、物价上涨压力增大、节能减排形势严峻等问题。今年 11 月 21 日，温总理在出访新加坡期间说，当前他最关心的是住房、股市、环境保护等问题，这些问题都属于经济安全问题。从国际上看，我们面临对海外市场依存度越来越大、国际贸易保护主义抬头导致贸易摩擦加剧、世界经济波动等风险。特别是金融安全问题比较突出。由于我国市场经济起步较晚，金融市场发展不够成熟，未来几年是我国金融体制改革的关键时期，我们防范和化解金融风险的能力还比较薄弱。如果国际上发生新一轮金融危机，我国金融安全将面临严峻考验。现在国际金融市场上有数万亿美元之巨的流动资本，其中一部分资本正通过各种途径涌入我国，给我国金融监管带来挑战。今年我国股市大幅起落，其中不乏来自国际“热钱”的推波助澜。此外，西方国家在人民币汇率问题上联手对中国施压，也使我们面临更大的压力。

其次，能源安全问题较为严峻。今年全球油价继续高位波动，11 月 21 日，纽约商品交易所原油期货价格盘中一度达到每桶 99.29 美元，创下历史最高纪录。有关大国间围绕能源产地和通道的争夺更加复杂。就我国而言，2006 年我国石油进口量高达 16287 万吨，石油对外依存度为 47%。今年上半年，我国进口石油（包括原油和成品油）已

达 9959 万吨,再创历史新高。在能源进口渠道多源化、能源运输通道安全、能源战略储备等方面,我国仍面临不少挑战。能源安全已成为影响我国经济可持续发展和国家安全的重大战略问题。

第三,气候变化问题逐渐突出。今年以来,部分西方国家在联合国、欧盟、八国集团等国际机制内连续提出气候变化议题。发达国家凭恃经济优势和技术实力,在"气候外交"中占据有利地位,对发展中国家的立场趋于强硬,压力日趋增大。发展中国家普遍反对将气候问题"政治化",对发达国家利用气候变化问题干涉其内政、阻滞其发展的意图高度警惕。气候变化问题已经超越环境和经济领域,成为当前国际政治和外交斗争的焦点议题之一。中国坚持"共同但有区别的责任"原则,积极履行应尽的国际义务,先后签署了《联合国气候变化框架公约》和《京都议定书》等国际条约,颁发了《中国应对气候变化国家方案》等政策文件,为应对全球气候变化作出了应有的贡献。胡主席在今年 9 月出席 APEC 会议期间,系统地阐明了我国关于气候变化问题的立场和主张,提出坚持合作应对、坚持可持续发展、坚持《联合国气候变化框架公约》主导地位、坚持科技创新等四项主张。这是中国政府首次在重大国际场合就应对气候变化提出全面、系统、务实的合作建议,得到国际社会的积极评价和支持。

三、关于新安全观

非传统安全威胁与传统安全威胁交织在一起,有其错综复杂的历史和现实背景。为此,在国内要以大安全观念为指导,加强综合应对;在国际上,只有抛弃"冷战"时期的旧安全观,树立新安全观,才能应对包括传统安全和非传统安全问题在内的国际安全问题。

20 世纪 90 年代中期以来,中国政府提出并在国际社会积极倡导新安全观。1999 年 3 月 26 日,江主席在日内瓦裁军谈判会议上发表了《推进裁军进程,维护国际安全》的讲话,全面地论述了中国关于新安全观的内涵,首次指出中国新安全观的核心是"互信、互利、平等、协

作”。2002年，中国政府正式发表了《中国关于新安全观的立场文件》。

中国的新安全观是一种综合安全观。其内容已从传统的军事、政治、外交领域扩展到经济、科技、文化、环境、公共卫生以及其他新发展的诸多领域。它要求把政治安全、经济安全、金融安全、军事安全、外交安全、科技安全、信息安全、能源安全、环境安全、水资源安全粮食安全、文化安全、公共卫生安全甚至部分空间安全相互有机地结合起来。这种安全观既以主权国家为主体，又将国家安全与地区安全和全球安全结合起来；既保持对传统安全威胁的高度重视，又对非传统安全威胁予以充分的关注。

中国的新安全观是一种共同安全观。由于当今安全威胁呈现多元化、国际化的发展趋势，各国在安全问题上的共同利益增多，相互依存度加深，无论大国还是中小国家，在应对安全问题上既有共同利益，又有合作愿望。因此，各国应在共同利益的基础上，建立相互信任的机制，通过战略合作以争取共同安全；在共同利益的基础上，承认并尊重世界的多样性，促进不同文明不同文化背景的国家和民族之间保持和睦相处的关系；在共同利益的基础上，国家不分大小一律平等，求同存异，通过国际政治民主化的途径，解决有关世界和地区和平的重大问题。总之，这种新的安全观是强调共同利益、共同发展、共同安全。

中国的新安全观是一种合作安全观。许多传统安全威胁问题已超出一个国家的范围，特别是非传统安全威胁具有明显的跨国性，单靠一个国家的资源和力量难以有效解决。因此，只有通过积极开展国际合作，建立起合作与信任的模式，才能有效地应对传统安全威胁以及非传统安全威胁给人类带来的共同挑战。新安全观反对以武力或武力威胁解决国际争端，而是主张在平等基础上进行对话、协商和谈判，和平解决争端，通过合作谋求安全。新安全观的合作还具有包容性，不仅要与发展模式和观点一致的国家进行合作，也包括与发展模式和观点不一致的国家进行合作，还包括与非政府组织等非国家行为体进行合作。兼容并蓄，才有利于共同进步和发展。

中国坚持走和平发展的道路。在此基础上,中国倡导的新安全观在内涵上体现了综合安全的观念,在目标上寻求共同安全,在手段上主张以合作促安全,是符合当前国际发展潮流、适合中国国情的新型安全观。在新安全观指导下,中国始终坚持通过维护国际安全来为自身的发展创造和平环境,又通过自身的和平发展来促进国际安全和人类的进步。

谢谢大家!

当前防扩散形势和中国的防扩散努力[*]

近年来，尤其是“9·11”事件后，大规模杀伤性武器扩散问题日益受到国际社会的广泛关注，成为国际关系中的热点问题。中国历来重视防止大规模杀伤性武器扩散问题，积极参与国际防扩散机制，不断完善国内出口管制法制建设，已成为维护和加强国际防扩散机制的重要力量。新形势下，随着各国在国际安全上的共同关切日益增加，相互依存逐渐加深，互动联系不断密切，进一步加强在防扩散领域的国际合作，完善国际防扩散机制，显得尤为重要和迫切。

一、当前国际防扩散形势的主要特点

“冷战”结束以来，国际社会为防扩散付出了巨大努力，取得一些积极成果，但当前防扩散形势依然严峻，诸多隐患和负面因素仍有继续发展的趋势，防扩散前景不容乐观。

（一）国际社会对防扩散的共识不断扩大，防范措施进一步加强

目前，国际社会对大规模杀伤性武器扩散威胁的认识逐步提高，对推动国际防扩散进程持积极态度，国际合作不断加强，联合国的作

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* 本文系作者 2009 年 10 月在北京出席中美“二轨”高层对话时所作发言。

用得到进一步发挥。安理会于2004年一致通过历史上第一个专门的防扩散决议(第1540号决议)。此后,安理会针对朝鲜进行核试验及导弹试射通过3个决议(针对朝试射导弹的1695号,2006年7月通过;针对朝核试的1718号,2006年10月通过;针对朝再次核试的1874号,2009年6月通过),对朝鲜的上述行动予以谴责并实施制裁;同时,安理会还就伊朗的核问题通过5个决议(1696号,2006年7月通过;1737号,2006年12月通过;1747号,2007年3月通过;1803号,2008年3月通过;1835号,2008年9月通过),敦促伊加强与国际社会合作,全面接受国际原子能机构的核查监督,确保其核计划专用于和平目的。与此同时,防扩散措施不断细化,从加强现有核不扩散机制,逐步向限制铀浓缩和后处理设备及技术的出口,关闭地下实验、制造设施,追究中间商、拦截运输,乃至冻结资产等扩散活动的其他环节全面扩展。此外,有关国家继续推动加强《不扩散核武器条约》和国际原子能机构的作用,建立国际核燃料银行等问题将逐步提上议事日程。

(二)核扩散势头继续发展,核恐怖主义威胁趋于现实

首先,实际拥核的国家不断增加。在现有国际政治秩序及安全形势下,一些国家出于安全因素及地缘政治考虑,谋求拥有核武器的动机难以根本消除。当前,除国际上公认的五核国外,印度、巴基斯坦、以色列和朝鲜已成为事实上的核国家。伊朗的核计划也成为国际社会关注的热点。

其次,核武器设计原理已不再是秘密。时至今日,甚至通过互联网就能下载到简易核武器的设计草图,拥核的门槛大大降低。

第三,核材料安保控制难度加大。当前,军民两用核物项及相关技术交流频繁,能源需求推动民用核能快速发展,使有效保障两用核技术只用于“和平目的”的难度较前大为增加,也为恐怖分子获取核材料及核技术增加了潜在的途径。

第四,扩散行为体日趋多元,核扩散源、核目标不断增多,核恐怖主义威胁趋于现实。“基地”组织早在上世纪90年代就曾试图获取铀材料,“9·11”事件后,该组织更将拥核作为重要目标。

最后，国际“核黑市”网络庞大，核走私活动的国际背景极其复杂，难以彻底禁止。上述情况表明，恐怖组织染指核材料、核技术甚至核武器的可能性在增大，其潜在危险不可低估。

（三）导弹及其技术扩散形势日趋严峻，拥有导弹或其能力的国家持续增加

弹道导弹和巡航导弹技术扩散势头加快。目前，除5个核国家外，拥有导弹和导弹制造技术的国家不断增多。据独立的非政府国际研究机构“防止大规模杀伤性武器扩散委员会”估计，全球约有40个国家已获取或研制出弹道导弹，其中10多个国家拥有射程超过1000公里的导弹。以色列、伊朗、印度、巴基斯坦和朝鲜都有发展射程超过3000公里导弹的计划。日本的航天技术和运载火箭技术发展迅速，现已基本掌握了研发洲际导弹的技术。韩国已具备自行研制近程弹道导弹的能力，不排除将来发展中远程弹道导弹。特别需要指出的是，由于美国加紧推进与盟国联合研发反导系统，已造成导弹技术在美盟国间的横向扩散。

二、中国已成为维护和加强国际防扩散机制的重要力量

作为一个大国和安理会常任理事国，中国历来以负责任的态度对待防扩散问题，积极参与国际防扩散努力。我们向来认为，大规模杀伤性武器的扩散，不利于世界的和平与稳定，也不利于中国自身的安全。因此，中国一贯主张全面禁止和彻底销毁所有种类的大规模杀伤性武器，并坚决反对大规模杀伤性武器及其运载工具的扩散。我们坚决奉行不支持、不鼓励、不帮助别国发展大规模杀伤性武器的政策，以实际行动为国际防扩散进程作出了贡献。

（一）中国参加了与防止大规模杀伤性武器扩散相关的所有国际法律文书和大多数国际组织

在核领域，中国于1984年加入了国际原子能机构，并自愿将自己的民用核设施置于该机构的保障监督之下。1992年，中国加入了《不

扩散核武器条约》。中国于1996年首批签署了《全面禁核试条约》,支持并积极参与条约组织筹委会的工作。1997年,中国加入核出口控制机制“桑戈委员会”。中国于1998年签署了关于加强国际原子能机构保障监督的附加议定书,并于2002年完成该附加议定书生效的国内法律程序,成为五个核国家中第一个完成上述程序的国家。中国积极参加国际原子能机构和全面禁止核试验条约组织筹备委员会等国际组织的工作,支持国际原子能机构为防范潜在的核恐怖活动作出努力,积极参加《核材料实物保护公约》的修约工作,并发挥了建设性作用。2004年5月,中国加入核供应国集团。

同时,中国积极支持有关国家建立无核武器区的努力。中国签署并批准了《拉丁美洲及加勒比禁止核武器条约》、《南太平洋无核区条约》和《非洲无核武器区条约》的相关议定书。中国已签署《东南亚无核区条约》相关议定书,希望条约生效进程加快。中国支持建立《中亚无核区条约》,欢迎条约生效。

在生物领域,中国于1984年加入《禁止发展、生产、储存细菌(生物)、毒素武器与销毁此种武器的公约》,严格履行《公约》义务。自1988年以来,中国一直按照公约审议会议的决定,逐年向联合国提交《公约》建立信任措施宣布资料。中国积极致力于在多边框架内加强《公约》有效性。

在化学领域,中国为谈判达成《关于禁止发展、生产、储存和使用化学武器及销毁此种武器的公约》作出了积极贡献,于1993年签署、1997年交存了《公约》的批准书。中国积极支持“禁止化学武器组织”的工作,认真履行《公约》义务,颁布实施了履约相关立法,设立了专门的履约机构,按时、完整地提交了初始宣布和各类年度宣布等。截至2009年6月,中国接受了“禁止化学武器组织”190余次现场视察。

在导弹领域,中国支持国际社会为防止导弹及相关技术和物项扩散所作出的努力,对国际上有关加强导弹防扩散机制的建议均持积极和开放的态度。中国以建设性的姿态参加了“联合国导弹问题政府专

家组”工作，以及“防止弹道导弹扩散国际行为准则”草案、“全球导弹监控机制”等国际倡议的讨论。

(二)在国内法律框架下积极加强自身防扩散出口管制法规建设

中国一直认为，有效的出口管制是实现防扩散目标的重要手段。作为一个具有一定工业和科技能力的国家，中国在这一领域采取了极为负责任的政策和举措。经过多年努力，中国的防扩散出口管制完成了从行政管理向法制化管理的转变，相关出口管制做法已与国际通行做法基本一致。

中国政府业已颁布了包括《中华人民共和国核出口管制条例》、《中华人民共和国生物两用品及相关设备和技术出口管制条例》在内的多部防扩散出口管制法规。这些法规及相应的管制清单形成了一整套涵盖核、生物、化学和导弹等各类敏感物项和技术及所有军品的完备的出口管制法规体制。这一体制将有关多国出口控制机制和其他国家的有益经验与中国国情相结合，广泛采用了出口经营登记制度、许可证管理制度、最终用户和最终用途证明制度和清单控制方法。

中方还根据形势发展和履行有关国际义务的需要不断完善上述体制。例如，2006年1月，中国政府颁布实施了《两用物项和技术进出口许可证管理办法》，充实、完善了两用物项和技术进、出口管制领域的法规体系，并每年对《两用物项和技术进出口许可证管理目录》进行更新。根据加入“核供应国集团”后所承担的义务，2006年11月和2007年1月，中国先后修订了《中华人民共和国核出口管制条例》和《中华人民共和国核两用品及相关技术出口管制条例》。根据本国国情并参照“澳大利亚集团”的做法，中国政府于2006年7月修订了《中华人民共和国生物两用品及相关设备和技术出口管制条例》清单。此外，根据防扩散出口管制工作的具体需要，中国政府从2006年9月起对所有石墨类产品的出口实施临时管制，要求所有此类产品出口都要申请许可证。2008年12月，我们更新了《两用物项和技术进出口许可证管理目录》。

此外，为确保防扩散出口管制法律法规得到有效的贯彻执行，中

国政府在机构建设、政策法规宣传、企业教育、违法案件调查与处理等方面也做了大量努力。

三、关于进一步加强国际防扩散努力的思考

中国始终认为,大规模杀伤性武器的扩散有其复杂的根源,彻底解决扩散问题的根本出路在于全面禁止并彻底销毁大规模杀伤性武器。在实现这一根本目标之前,国际社会应本着标本兼治的原则,通过政治、外交手段谋求妥善的解决办法。

(一)标本兼治、综合处理,以和平手段解决扩散问题

大规模杀伤性武器扩散问题并非孤立存在,而与国际和地区安全环境密切相关。谋求国际关系的普遍改善,既是消除威胁的根本途径,也是防扩散努力顺利开展的前提。国际社会应致力于建立以互信、互利、平等、合作为核心的新安全观,尊重彼此安全利益,谋求普遍安全,从根本上消除有关国家发展大规模杀伤性武器的内在动因。应通过政治和外交途径解决防扩散关切,片面强调施压、制裁、诉诸武力,更以防扩散为借口谋求其他目的,既无助于解决问题,又会激化矛盾。国际社会应继续鼓励有关国家加强对话、增信释疑、实现国家关系正常化,为解决防扩散问题创造有利条件。

(二)坚持国际防扩散机制的公正性和非歧视性,摒弃双重标准或选择性做法

要赢得各国对防扩散的普遍支持和参与,必需坚持国际防扩散机制的公正性与合理性,即确保非歧视性,并保障各国和平利用先进科技的权利。无论是巩固现有的防扩散机制,还是采取新的防扩散措施,均应在各国普遍参与、民主决策的基础上进行,并充分发挥联合国的作用。在防扩散问题上必须对各国一视同仁,绝不能搞双重标准,更不能以少数国家的利益作为取舍标准。如果片面强调自身安全利益,推行强制性的反扩散政策,其结果只能是损害国际多边防扩散机制的权威性和有效性,必将失去国际社会的广泛理解和支持。

（三）平衡把握防扩散与和平利用核能的关系，不能以防扩散为借口损害发展中国家进行国际科技合作与交流的权利

防扩散与和平利用核能之间是一种相辅相成，而非截然对立的和谐关系。一方面，要在确保实现防扩散目标的前提下，尊重和保障各国特别是发展中国家和平利用核能的权利。另一方面，也要杜绝任何国家以和平利用为借口从事扩散活动。重防扩散、轻和平利用的倾向将严重挫伤广大发展中国家支持国际防扩散努力的积极性，并将进一步损害现有防扩散机制的有效性。

（四）立足维护中美双边关系大局，将防扩散合作作为推动中美关系不断发展的重要手段

防扩散问题直接关乎中美关系大局，也是中美拥有共同利益的重要领域。目前，中美在防扩散领域仍存在一些矛盾，特别是美方坚持以国内法为依据制裁中国公司的做法，无益于中美防扩散合作的健康发展。但经过双方的共同努力，防扩散问题正在由中美关系的摩擦点开始转变为合作点，成为促进中美关系不断发展的一个重要方面。两国在朝鲜及伊朗核问题上进行了密切合作，成效明显。我们注意到，奥巴马总统在防扩散问题上力求改变前任政府过分依赖强制手段的做法，重视依托现有国际军控机制及有关安排，提倡通过合作增强防扩散机制的有效性。这一调整将对国际防扩散形势和进程产生重要影响。我国高度重视奥巴马总统关于召开“核不扩散与核裁军”联合国安理会峰会以及“全球核安全”峰会的倡议，希望通过这些努力在全球范围内达成更广泛的防扩散共识。我们期待美方以更加务实的态度看待中国在防扩散方面的建设性作用，改变动辄对我公司及实体实施制裁的做法。双方应共同努力，推动中美防扩散合作进入新的阶段。

不对称安全的挑战：从恐怖主义到网络攻击*

进入21世纪以来，和平、发展、合作已成为时代潮流，世界多极化、经济全球化和社会信息化深入发展，国际政治、经济和安全等领域发生深刻变化，其中国际安全领域的变化尤其值得关注。当今时代，安全内涵不断扩大，传统安全威胁和非传统安全威胁相互交织，安全问题的多样性和复杂性前所未有。**不对称安全挑战作为国际安全领域凸显的一种新趋势，引起国际社会广泛关注。**

一、不对称安全挑战是当前安全威胁的一个重要特点

在国际安全领域的所谓"不对称"，一般具有两层含义：一层含义是指在实力悬殊的冲突双方中，强者充分发挥军力、武器、技术、信息等方面的绝对优势来击败弱势的对手，这是一种"不对称"；另一层含义是指在冲突双方中的弱者采取游击战、恐怖主义、网络攻击、大规模杀伤性武器等不对称、非常规方式来攻击强者的薄弱之处，这也是一种"不对称"。**这里，我重点论述的是以恐怖主义和网络攻击为代表的不对称安全挑战问题。**

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* 本文系作者2011年11月21日在"中国与跨大西洋国家：应对全球安全挑战"国际学术会议上的主旨发言。

不对称安全挑战具有以下一些特性：一是不确定性。不对称安全挑战的主体往往来自个人、组织等非国家行为体，他们何时、何地、以何种方式采取何种行动均很难判定。特别是当前跨国犯罪和恐怖组织等借助的工具和手段急剧增多，除传统的军事手段外，无论民用客机、网络工具，还是核武器、化学毒剂和基因物质等都有可能成为其手中的武器。**二是突发性。**不对称安全挑战事前大都没有明显征兆，往往会以突如其来的方式迅速爆发。行动一般持续时间较短，难以预先防范或阻止。1990 年以来，全球有 100 多起影响较大的恐怖袭击事件都是在人们毫无防范的情况下发生的。网络攻击也往往是瞬间发生且毫无征兆的。**三是跨国性。**不对称安全挑战的目标选择、实施过程等具有明显的跨国特征。如电脑黑客可能对世界各地的计算机网络进行攻击。"基地"组织在全球多个国家呈"网络状"分布，形成了松散的组织体系，其资金募集、人员招募、武器供给、攻击目标选择都是在全球范围内展开的。**四是破坏性。**不对称安全威胁大都成本低、利用资源少、投入力量相对有限，但可能造成大量人员伤亡与财产损失，其成本与效果的对比也是"不对称"的。

二、恐怖主义威胁是 21 世纪各国普遍面临的不对称安全挑战

恐怖活动作为特殊的暴力形式，一直是弱势一方挑战强者的一种不对称手段。"9·11"事件后，国际恐怖活动进入一个新的阶段，对人类社会的危害日益上升。**近十年来国际恐怖活动发展演变从很多方面都显现出其"不对称"特征：一是以小搏大，对各国安全造成很多危害。十年来，国际恐怖活动数量总体呈上升势头，且对人类生命财产造成巨大危害。**据统计，2002—2011 年，全球发生恐怖事件 6000 多起，造成 4 万余人死亡，9 万余人受伤。**二是以弱斗强，全球恐怖活动滋生高发地集中分布于世界贫穷落后地区。**据统计，2002 年以来，80%以上的恐怖活动集中在"高加索—中东—中亚—南亚—东南亚"

构成的“弧形地带”上，这里多为贫穷落后、战乱丛生地区，尤其是南亚地区恐怖活动数量占全球总数的40%以上。**三是以暗击明，活动方式更加多样和隐蔽。**近年来，恐怖组织的活动方式渐趋网络化、分散化，恐怖活动的技术性和战术性也在不断增强。液体炸弹、吞入式炸弹袭击、炭疽热病毒攻击等高技术手段不断出现。

中国也是恐怖主义的受害国之一。仅最近三年，“东突”恐怖势力在我国新疆地区就制造了90余起暴力犯罪事件，造成1000余人伤亡和巨大财产损失。中国政府主张反对一切形式的恐怖主义。

三、日益突出的网络安全问题给各国安全带来的风险不断上升

网络是人类智慧的结晶和当代高科技发展的重要标志。网络促进了信息传播方式的变革，推动着人类社会的发展进步。但随着各国经济社会发展对网络的依赖程度不断加深，网络安全问题日益凸显，网络攻击和破坏活动给各国安全带来的风险不断上升。当前，很多国家均面临各种形式的网络攻击、日益增多的网络犯罪、难以防控的有害信息传播等挑战。黑客组织已具备通过“隐蔽的方式、一击即溃的技术”等“不对称”手段挑战主权国家政府和大型企业的能力。今年4月至7月，索尼公司、花旗银行等先后遭到黑客攻击，1亿多用户的账户密码、约21万份北美地区银行卡客户信息遭泄露，经济损失严重。**中国也是黑客攻击的受害国之一，每年遭受大量来自境外的网络攻击。**据统计，2010年，中国政府网站被篡改数量达4635个，与2009年2765个相比增长67.6%，受到攻击的网站涉及政府多个部门。提高网络防护水平、维护网络安全已普遍成为各国维护国家安全新的重要任务。

四、有效应对不对称安全挑战需要大力加强国际合作

中国一向倡导互信、互利、平等、协作的新安全观，寻求实现综合

安全、共同安全和合作安全。我们认为，在应对不对称安全挑战问题上，应遵守以下一些基本原则：

一是要切实加强国际合作，共同应对各种安全挑战。恐怖主义、网络攻击等不对称安全挑战不是某一单个国家面临的问题，而是各国共同面临的安全挑战。不对称安全挑战的不确定性、突发性、跨国性等特点，决定任何国家都不可能单凭自己的力量，应对和消除这种威胁。只有通过广泛的国际合作，特别是充分发挥联合国等国际组织的作用，才能有效应对新形势下的各种安全挑战。中国一贯主张在联合国框架下讨论制订网络空间国际准则，坚持联合国安理会在国际反恐斗争中的主导地位与作用。

二是要强化综合安全观念，坚持综合施策和标本兼治。不对称安全挑战的产生有着复杂的历史和政治背景。应从建立公正合理的国际政治经济新秩序入手，从根源上防止各种不对称安全威胁的滋生与蔓延。同时，应对不对称安全挑战也不能仅仅依靠军事手段，综合运用包括政治、经济等手段在内的各种手段，才是该问题的解决之道。

三是要严格遵循公认的国际准则，不搞“双重标准”。不对称安全这一概念的内涵是很广泛的，它不仅包括恐怖主义、网络攻击等行为，从广义上说，它还应包括大国强国对小国弱国的强权行为、有核国家对无核国家的核威胁，等等，这些实际上都是一种不对称安全。当今国际社会在应对不对称安全挑战中，应避免“以强凌弱”的旧逻辑重演，反对双重标准。

我们生活在同一个地球村，全球化的深入发展，已将世界各国更加紧密地联系在一起。不对称安全挑战是各国共同面临的重要安全问题。让我们进一步加强交流沟通，增进协调合作，积极探讨不对称安全问题的应对之策，共同维护国际社会的和平稳定。

当前国际安全形势[*]

当前，国际形势正继续发生深刻复杂变化，世界多极化、经济全球化、社会信息化持续深入发展，和平、发展、合作、变革的时代潮流更加强劲。与此同时，世界也面临诸多不安全不稳定的因素，国际安全领域的变化值得关注。

一、传统安全威胁仍然严重存在

当前，国际上的传统安全问题突出表现在三个方面：一是全球局部战争和武装冲突保持高发态势，二是国际军事竞争日趋激烈，三是核扩散和军备控制形势依然严峻。

首先，全球局部战争和武装冲突此起彼伏，继续呈现“数量居高不下、地域相对集中、起因复杂多样”的特征。“冷战”结束以来，全球武装冲突频发，年均发生 38.4 起。虽然冲突的规模和强度总体有限，但“小战不断”的态势一直没有改变。2011 年，全球共发生武装冲突 45 起，其中重大武装冲突 10 起，是重大武装冲突的一个高发年。2012 年截至 6 月，全球累计发生武装冲突 43 起，其中重大武装冲突 10 起，有

* 本文系作者 2012 年 7 月 7 日在北京“世界和平论坛”上的发言。

增无减。非洲、中东和南亚仍是武装冲突数量的“高发地”和重大武装冲突的“重灾区”。全球武装冲突的解决进程曲折艰难,将继续对国际和地区安全形势产生复杂深刻的影响。

其次,世界新军事变革不断推进,以质为主的军备竞争继续向纵深发展。世界主要国家加快推进军事战略调整,持续推动军队转型进程,加大先进武器装备研发力度,积极扩大军事技术优势,发展新型作战能力,提升军力发展水平。战略核力量、军事航天、反导系统、全球及战场侦察监视等成为强军重点。有关国家围绕网络、外空、北极等战略新疆域的争夺也日益升温,相关领域的竞争更加激烈。

第三,国际军控领域的战略博弈继续增强,全球范围内核扩散的危险仍在上升。当前,国际多边军控进程仍面临很多复杂因素,未来走向具有不确定性。主要国家围绕核力量发展的较量深入展开,美、俄等核大国进一步推进核武器现代化进程,在反导、核裁军领域的战略矛盾更趋复杂。朝鲜半岛局势时缓时紧,伊核问题变数增多。部分地区国家借机拥核呼声上扬,国际恐怖组织染指核武的危险性进一步增大。

二、非传统安全威胁迅速扩展并且更加突出

“冷战”结束后特别是“9·11”事件以来,以恐怖主义为代表的非传统安全威胁日益突出,并且向越来越多的领域扩展,越来越成为影响国际安全的重大问题。当前,非传统安全在以下方面尤其突出。

一是经济金融安全脆弱性进一步上升。当前,国际金融危机余波未平,美欧债务问题短期内难以化解,各国宏观经济政策协调难度增大,世界经济复苏的基础仍不牢固。发达经济体增速放缓,贸易保护主义抬头,贸易摩擦较前升温,世界贸易增长势头有所减弱。同时,大宗商品价格高位波动,全球通胀形势更为严峻,新兴经济体经济增长可能趋缓。经济金融安全问题在未来一个时期仍可能相当突出,全球经济环境复杂化趋势可能长期化。

二是全球反恐形势依然复杂严峻。近年来，国际社会不断深化反恐合作，加大打恐力度，强化综合治理，反恐斗争取得一定积极进展。但国际恐怖活动总体仍呈“对抗激烈、此消彼长、地域扩散、乱象纷呈”的基本态势。去年，全球发生恐怖袭击1150余起，造成6200余人死亡、10600余人受伤。一些恐怖势力将中东乱局视为自身发展良机，重整组织架构，恐怖活动形态加速演化，国际安全面临更大挑战。

三是信息安全问题日渐突出。近年来，经济社会对信息网络的依赖程度不断加深，新兴媒体在国家政治生活中作用更加突出，信息技术“双刃剑”效应日益凸显。网络安全问题正逐渐由虚拟空间向现实世界延伸，网络犯罪和网络恐怖活动日趋增多，对国际和各国安全稳定构成现实威胁。同时，广大发展中国家与发达国家网络发展的差距仍在加大，许多发展中国家的网络发展受制于人，面临严重的安全隐患。

此外，能源安全、粮食安全、气候变化、公共卫生安全、水资源安全等非传统安全问题，与传统安全威胁相互交织，也对国际和地区安全产生复杂深刻的影响。

总的看，当前国际安全形势的主流还是与和平、发展、合作的时代潮流相一致的。但不安全、不确定因素的挑战也在增加，传统安全和非传统安全威胁相互交织，安全问题的多样性、复杂性前所未有。世界各国应携起手来，加强协调合作，摒弃冷战思维，共同应对挑战，努力维护持久和平、促进共同繁荣。

加强国际合作　保障生态安全*

一、当前生态安全面临的两大问题

（一）全球气候变暖问题

18世纪中叶以来，全球气候正经历一次以变暖为主要特征的显著变化。1988年11月，世界气象组织（WMO）和联合国环境规划署（UNEP）联合建立了联合国政府间气候变化专门委员会（IPCC），其任务是对全世界范围内现有与气候变化有关的科学、技术、社会、经济方面的资料和研究成果作出评估报告，为世界各国决策提供服务。研究认为，过去100年中，全球气候呈现出以变暖为主要特征的显著变化。

20世纪北半球平均温度的增幅达到过去1000年来之最。冰冻圈最能反映地球气候的变化。由于全球变暖，国际冰川协会有记录的20条冰川都出现退缩。海冰也在变化，北极海冰在减少，尤其是春季海冰，但南极海冰面积有所上升。在欧亚大陆的北半球中高纬地区，每年3—4月的平均积雪面积也在逐渐下降，这与全球变暖不无关系。全球变暖造成的冰川、积雪融化，以及海洋温度上升引起的热膨胀等，导致海平面上升。估计整个20世纪海平面上升0.17米，其中最近50

* 本文系作者为出席2013年5月举办的太湖世界文化论坛（杭州）第二届年会撰写的发言稿。

年的上升速度在加快。

进入21世纪,全球变暖的趋势还在加剧。研究预测,北极海域的海冰将在本世纪后半叶融化消失;孟加拉国大部分地区以及部分岛国将被上升的海水淹没;欧洲的阿尔卑斯山脉将不再是冬季滑雪胜地,而仅成为避暑区;澳大利亚著名的大堡礁,将因海水温度上升而在数十年内被毁;很多非洲国家将更加饱受干旱之苦;在夏季,地中海沿海地区将会由于热浪变得几乎无法居住。

(二)环境污染问题

工业革命以后,人类开发和利用自然资源的能力得到了极大提高,但接踵而至的环境污染和极端灾害也给人类造成巨大灾难。从1900年开始,全球丧失了近50%的湿地,全球约20%的珊瑚礁遭受破坏,每年约200万公顷的森林被破坏;在过去50年中,约60%的地球生态系统已退化。西方发达国家在工业化阶段都遭遇过严重的空气污染,特别是20世纪40至80年代,发生了一批重大污染事件:1943年美国洛杉矶光化烟雾事件、1952年伦敦酸雾事件、20世纪50年代日本水俣事件、1984年印度博帕尔化学品泄漏事件等恶性环境污染事件,均造成大面积污染和大量民众伤病死亡。

2012年6月6日联合国环境规划署在纽约联合国总部发布第五版《全球环境展望》综合报告。(《全球环境展望》报告是在前联合国秘书长安南倡导下开展的一项重要联合国项目。联合国环境规划署此前已分别于1997、2000、2003和2007年发布过4版《全球环境展望》报告。)报告指出,尽管为了支持可持续的环境管理和改善人类生存状况,全球已经共同制定了500多个目标,但世界仍然走在一条不可持续的发展道路上,地球上各个系统的承受能力正被推至生物物理上的极限。《全球环境展望》对最重要的90个环境目标进行了评估。其中,只有4个目标取得了重要进展,分别是减少生产和使用破坏臭氧层的物质、淘汰含铅汽油、提供更多更好的水源供应、促进减少海洋环境污染的研究;大约40个目标取得了一定进展,其中包括扩大国家公园等自然保护区的面积以及减少森林砍伐。但与此同时,气候变化、

鱼类资源、沙漠化和干旱等24个目标几乎没有或完全没有取得进展，8个目标所反映的状况出现恶化，另有14个目标由于缺乏数据无法评估。报告警告称，如果人类不尽快改变生产生活方式，可能导致人类活动超过地球生态系统的承受极限，最终可能导致地球发生突然且不可逆转的改变。

二、中国的有关努力

（一）中国在节能减排问题上取得积极进展

"十一五"期间，全国单位国内生产总值能耗下降19.1%，二氧化硫、化学污染物排放总量分别减少14.29%和12.45%，基本实现"十一五"规划确定的目标；资源利用效率提高，"十一五"期间，全国单位工业增加值用水量降低36.7%，主要产品单位能耗大幅度减低；环境质量局部改善，2005年到2010年，七大水系国控断面好于三类水质的比例提高18.9个百分点，环保重点城市空气质量达到二级标准的城市比例提高30.3个百分点；生态保护和修复取得成效，"十一五"期间，森林覆盖率提高2.16个百分点，退牧还草区牧草质量提高，重点生态功能区保护力度加大，全国沙化面积减少；应对气候变化取得进展，"十一五"期间通过节能提高能效累计减少二氧化碳排放14.6亿吨。

（二）中国积极发展清洁能源技术

"十一五"期间，中国能源结构日益优化：**一是电力工业"上大压小"，实现跨越式发展。**累计关停小火电7210万千瓦，提前超额完成5000万千瓦的关停任务。全国五年新增电力装机超过4.3亿千瓦，总装机达到9.5亿千瓦，电网规模跃居世界第一。**二是整合煤炭资源。**中国原煤产量多年稳居世界第一。全国五年累计关闭小煤矿9000处，淘汰落后产能4.5亿吨/年。"十一五"末期，全国千万吨级以上煤炭企业集团达到50家，产量17.3亿吨，占全国的58%以上。原油年产量成功稳定在1.9亿吨左右，居世界第五。**三是水电、核电、风电规**

模不断壮大。龙滩、景洪、小湾等大型水电站先后建成,5 年新增投产机组接近中国有水电以来前 95 年的总和。2011 年全国水电装机容量达到 2.3 亿千瓦,居世界第一。2005 年以来,国家先后核准辽宁红沿河、福建宁德、福建福清等 13 个核电项目,共 34 台机组、3702 万千瓦。2011 年中国已投运核电机组 15 台、装机容量 1254 万千瓦,在建机组 26 台、装机容量 2924 万千瓦,在建规模居世界首位。风电并网装机容量连续 5 年翻番增长,2011 年达到 4700 万千瓦,居世界第一。上海东海大桥 10 万千瓦海上风电场在 2010 年上海世博会期间并网投产,成为欧洲以外全世界首座海上风电场。**四是太阳能等新兴能源发展异军突起。**太阳能产业在国内逐渐兴起,国内光伏发电市场有序启动。敦煌 1 万千瓦光伏电站项目率先实现并网发电,光伏发电增长强劲,装机容量达到 300 万千瓦。太阳能热水器集热面积超过 2 亿平方米。此外,沼气、地热能、潮汐能等其他可再生能源推广应用也在积极开展。

三、当前值得关注的光伏能源和反倾销战问题

根据中国《可再生能源发展“十二五”规划》,到 2015 年,中国力争使太阳能发电装机容量达到 2100 万千瓦。预计到 2050 年,中国可再生能源的电力装机将占全国电力装机的 25%,其中光伏发电装机将占到 5%。未来十几年,中国太阳能装机容量的复合增长率将高达 25% 以上。

2012 年 11 月 7 日,美国国际贸易委员会(ITC)做出终裁,认定从中国进口的晶体硅光伏电池及组件“实质性损害了美国相关产业”,美国将对此类产品征收反倾销和反补贴(“双反”)关税。对此终裁,中国机电产品进出口商会发表声明表示强烈反对。2013 年 5 月 8 日,欧盟贸易委员卡雷尔·德古特向欧盟做出“对中国光伏产品征收临时性关税”的建议。该提议如获采纳,临时性征收措施可能将在 6 月 6 日前启动。不同企业适用的税率不同,平均税率约为 47%。2013 年 5 月 9

日，中国外交部新闻发言人华春莹表示，希望双方本着建设性合作态度，通过对话与磋商妥善处理双边经贸关系中出现的摩擦和问题，希望欧方不要动辄使用贸易保护主义措施。商务部新闻发言人姚坚表示，中国坚决反对欧盟设限，中欧双方应本着磋商的精神，包括提升磋商级别，进一步化解争端和矛盾，促进共同发展。对话磋商是解决太阳能光伏贸易争端的正确选择。

欧盟对华光伏反倾销案的影响。**重挫中国企业。**2013 年 1 到 2 月，中国对欧洲的光伏出口额达 12.7 亿美元。欧盟此次针对中国的反倾销重税，对所有产品出口欧洲的光伏企业都将造成打击。**大损欧盟市场。**代表欧洲 450 多家光伏产品消费类企业的行业协会—欧洲平价太阳能联盟（AFASE）2013 年 5 月 8 日发表声明称："对中国光伏产品征收惩罚性关税，不管是何种水平，都将给整个欧洲光伏产业价值链带来不可逆转的破坏。15％的反倾销税就足以摧毁欧盟 85％的光伏需求市场。"

目前，已有超过 1000 家欧洲光伏产品企业要求欧盟委员会放弃对中国太阳能企业征收惩罚性关税。它们认为，一旦对中国光伏企业征收惩罚性关税，七成以上太阳能模板价格将大幅上升。如果欧方对光伏产品设限，中方也将切实维护中国企业的利益。贸易战将导致两损，从长远看应从"加强国际合作，保障生态安全"角度妥善处理光伏能源与反倾销战问题，通过对话争取双赢。**首先，应树立共同安全、合作安全的观念；其次，应坚持共同而有区别的责任这一原则；第三，应树立人类命运共同体的观念。**未来，应高度重视生态安全，反对贸易保护主义，防止贸易战，开展对话，争取实现互利共赢。

第三部分

中国的安全观与安全政策

当今中国的安全政策*

近年来,中国经济保持平稳快速增长,综合国力显著增强。2007年,中国国内生产总值达24.95万亿人民币(按2008年1月1日人民币对美元7.3∶1的汇率计算约合3.41万亿美元)。但中国仍是世界上最大的发展中国家,人均国内生产总值还排在世界100位以后,工业化、城市化、现代化进程远未完成,城乡、区域、经济社会发展还很不平衡。中国要实现在2020年全面建成小康社会、2050年达到中等发达国家水平的目标,必须始终把发展作为第一要务,集中精力进行经济建设。为此,中国需要长期和平稳定的国际环境。我们坚定不移地走和平发展道路,既通过维护世界和平来发展自己,又通过自身的发展来促进世界和平,努力实现和平的发展、开放的发展、合作的发展、和谐的发展。当今中国的安全政策的本质即在于,它立足于中国作为发展中国家的基本国情,服务于中国坚持走和平发展道路的战略抉择,其出发点和归宿既是为了中国的和平发展,也是为了世界的和平发展。

总的看,随着国际国内形势的发展,当今中国的安全政策发生了三个方面的重大调整。

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* 本文系作者2008年5月在瑞士、英国、爱尔兰等国学术研究机构的演讲。

一、既重视传统安全威胁,又密切关注非传统安全威胁

从纵向的、历史的角度看,安全的内涵与外延不断拓展延伸。传统安全问题依然重要,其核心是维护国家的主权和领土完整不受侵犯,维护国家的生存与发展。“冷战”结束后,虽然世界大战打不起来,但局部战争和武装冲突数量居高不下,2007 年全球共发生 33 起,虽较 2006 年数量有所下降,但其中新发生 13 起,与 2006 年新发生数基本持平。这表明,世界并不太平。传统安全威胁仍然是我们要认真应对的。中国奉行防御性的国防政策,旨在应对自身所面临的传统安全威胁,不会对他国构成任何威胁。

近年来,随着国际形势的发展和安全理念的变化,非传统安全问题日益受到国际社会广泛重视。所谓非传统安全,是相对于传统安全而言的。非传统安全问题并非新的问题。恐怖暗杀活动可以追溯到几千年前,严重疫病、自然灾害也一直在危害人类安全。但“冷战”结束后,特别是“9·11”事件以来,以恐怖主义为代表的非传统安全威胁日益突出。尽管国际反恐行动取得一定成果,但并未根本遏制国际恐怖活动的猖獗势头。据统计,2007 年全球发生恐怖事件 850 余起,造成 6300 余人死亡、近 1.3 万人受伤,恐怖事件和伤亡人数均超过 2006 年,其中伤亡百人以上的重大恶性恐怖事件 34 起,较 2006 年增加 36%。中国虽不是国际恐怖主义的主要攻击对象,但也面临恐怖主义威胁。特别是“东突”恐怖组织等部分境外恐怖势力开始把我海外机构和人员作为攻击目标。消除恐怖主义已经成为国际社会共同面对的一个世界性课题,考验着我们的智慧、勇气和决心。事实证明,面对国际恐怖主义威胁,单纯的军事打击效果并不理想,采取综合措施,标本兼治才是最好的良方;单个国家的行动往往难以奏效,国际合作才是最有效的途径。中国政府一贯反对任何形式的恐怖主义,主张标本兼治,努力消除产生恐怖主义的根源,同时不断加强反恐国际合作。2007 年 3 月,中国首次派舰艇参加由巴基斯坦主办的“和平—07”9 国

海上联合军演,演练海上反恐作战战术行动。5月,中国参加第二届西太平洋海军论坛12国联合军演,进行反恐等科目演练。8月,中国参加代号为“和平使命—2007”的上合组织联合反恐演习。9月,中国分别与英国、西班牙、法国成功进行包括反恐科目的海上联合搜救演习,与俄罗斯进行“合作—2007”联合反恐演习。12月,中印两国陆军举行首次以反恐为目标的联合训练。

二、既重视军事、政治安全,也密切关注经济、文化、信息、金融安全以及能源、气候和公共卫生安全

从横向的、多方位的角度看,国家安全的内涵和外延同样在不断拓展和延伸,由军事和政治领域拓展和延伸到经济、文化、信息、金融等诸多领域。除恐怖主义外,当前比较突出的还有能源安全、气候安全和公共卫生安全。

一是能源安全。近年来,国际油价长期在高位运行,围绕能源主产地和能源运输通道的竞争愈演愈烈,国际能源安全形势趋于严峻。国际能源供需不平衡有所加剧。据英国石油公司公布的《2006世界能源统计》报告显示,以目前的开采速度计算,已探明的全球石油储量仅可供应40年左右,天然气和煤炭则分别可以供应65年和162年。能源安全已经成为影响全球经济和各国安全的重大战略问题,需要国际社会共同解决。作为世界第二大能源消费国和第二大能源生产国,中国高度重视能源安全问题,长期坚持以立足国内、节约优先、多元发展、加强合作为核心的能源战略,取得了显著成效。中国的能源(包括煤炭、石油、天然气等)自给率长期保持在90%以上,比经合组织(OECD)国家平均水平高20多个百分点。中国坚持把节约能源放在首要地位,2007年单位GDP能耗同比下降3.27%。中国在坚持煤等一次性能源为基础的同时,鼓励发展风能、太阳能、生物能等可再生能源,2006年可再生能源占能源消费总量的比例已达7%(注:2007年数字尚未公布)。根据2007年8月中国国务院通过的《可再生能源中长

期发展规划》,到 2010 年,中国可再生能源占能源消费总量的 10%;到 2020 年,可再生能源在能源结构中的比例将达到 16%。中国坚持“互利合作、多元发展、协同保障”的新能源安全观,积极参与国际能源合作,已与美国、日本、印度、欧盟等主要能源消费国建立了双边能源对话机制,是国际能源论坛(IEF)、世界能源理事会(WEC)、亚太伙伴关系(APP)等多个多边能源合作机制的正式成员,与国际能源署(IEA)等国际能源组织也保持着密切联系。2007 年 3 月,中德能源法律与政策研讨会在北京召开,双方就加强能源合作等问题进行了广泛交流和讨论。4 月 12 日,首次中日部长级能源政策对话成功举行,双方决定加强在节能环保、石油替代、新能源等方面的合作。5 月 21 日,中国、美国、俄罗斯、日本、法国举行全球核能伙伴和核能合作国际会议,就加强核能领域合作进行了广泛讨论。11 月,法国总统萨科齐访华期间,中法签署民用核能合作协议。2008 年 1 月,英国首相布朗访华期间,中英就新能源和清洁能源利用等方面扩大合作达成广泛共识。

二是气候安全。多数科学家认为,近百年来,地球气候正在经历一次以全球变暖为主要特征的显著变化。联合国有关报告显示,20 世纪是过去 1000 年里最暖的 100 年。在全球变暖的大背景下,中国的气候也发生了明显变化。近百年来,中国年平均气温升高了 0.5℃～0.8℃。气候安全问题已成为人类共同面临的新挑战,需要国际社会共同应对。2007 年 12 月在印度尼西亚巴厘岛召开的联合国气候变化大会,通过了“巴厘岛路线图”,为国际社会共同控制气候变化确立了明确的议题和时间表,具有里程碑意义。中国政府认为气候变化既是环境问题,也是发展问题,但归根到底是发展问题。中国坚持《联合国气候变化框架公约》所确立的“共同但有区别的责任”的原则,呼吁发达国家尽早完成《京都议定书》确定的减排目标,向发展中国家提供帮助,并在 2012 年后继续率先承担减排义务。中国国家主席胡锦涛在 2007 年 9 月出席 APEC 会议期间,就气候变化问题提出坚持合作应对、坚持可持续发展、坚持《联合国气候变化框架公约》主导地位、坚持科技创新等四项主张。在巴厘岛大会上,中国提出最晚于 2009 年年底

前谈判确定发达国家2012年后的减排指标，切实将《联合国气候变化框架公约》、《京都议定书》中向发展中国家提供资金和技术转让的规定落到实处等主张，得到了与会各方的认可，并最终被采纳到巴厘岛路线图中。2007年初，欧盟决定到2020年将温室气体排放减少20%，八国峰会也同意“认真考虑”到2050年全球温室气体排放比1990年至少降低50%的建议。中国对此表示欢迎和赞赏，同时希望发达国家切实兑现承诺。尽管目前中国的人均二氧化碳排放还不到发达国家平均水平的三分之一，但中国仍然本着对世界负责的态度，积极履行应尽的国际义务。中国先后签署了《联合国气候变化框架公约》和《京都议定书》等国际条约，颁发了《中国应对气候变化国家方案》等政策文件，确定了2010年单位GDP能耗比2005年降低20%、森林覆盖率提高到20%的目标要求，为延缓全球变暖作出了应有的贡献。中国将继续积极参与气候变化领域的国际合作，为应对气候变化作出积极努力。

三是公共卫生安全。自2003年爆发禽流感疫情以来，公共卫生安全问题日益引起国际社会广泛重视。据世界卫生组织最新统计显示，截至2008年4月17日，全球人感染禽流感(H5N1型)病例已达381起，其中240人死亡。中国人感染禽流感病例30起，其中20人死亡。中国政府高度重视公共卫生安全问题，已建立起对禽流感等重大传染性疾病的通报机制，不断加强与其他国家在此领域的交流与合作。为促进全球公共卫生安全，对世界卫生事业作出更多贡献，中国政府全力支持香港特区前卫生署长、世界卫生组织前助理总干事陈冯富珍女士参选世卫组织总干事。2006年11月9日，陈冯富珍作为唯一候选人正式当选世卫组织新任总干事。中国将继续加强与世卫组织的沟通与合作，加强与世界各国在人类卫生安全领域的合作。

三、既重视加强本国安全，也密切关注国际安全合作

自1840年至1945年的一百多年中，中国曾长期遭受外来侵略，中国人民既蒙受了深重苦难，也取得了反抗日本法西斯侵略战争的伟

大胜利。新中国成立以来,中国始终重视和加强自身安全,并为此付出了不懈努力。近年来,中国积极倡导摒弃传统的冷战思维,树立适应时代发展的新型安全观念,并于 1999 年 3 月 26 日在日内瓦裁军谈判会议上首次正式提出以互信、互利、平等、协作为核心内容的新安全观。多年来,中国在新安全观的指导下,积极投身国际安全合作,主张以合作求安全,为世界的和平与稳定作出了积极贡献。

一是积极履行安理会常任理事国的责任义务。作为联合国安理会常任理事国,中国一直致力于维护联合国的权威和作用,在联合国框架内积极维护世界和平与稳定。在当前较为突出的朝核问题和伊核问题上,中国积极参与外交斡旋和政治解决,支持安理会于 2006 年 7 月 15 日和 10 月 14 日先后通过关于朝核问题的 1695 号和 1718 号两个决议,以及于 2006 年 7 月 31 日、12 月 23 日、2007 年 3 月 24 日和 2008 年 3 月 3 日先后通过关于伊核问题的 1696 号、1737 号、1747 号和 1803 号四个决议。这既表明了中国在防扩散问题上的负责任态度,又为朝核与伊核问题的最终和平解决创造了条件,赢得了广泛的国际赞誉。特别是促成朝核问题六方会谈先后于 2005 年发表"9·19 共同声明",于 2007 年达成《落实共同声明起步行动》("2·13"共同文件)和《落实共同声明第二阶段行动》("10·3"共同文件)两个共同文件,推动朝核问题步入"行动对行动"阶段。

二是积极参与联合国维和行动。自 1989 年中国第一次参加联合国维和行动以来,截止到 2008 年 4 月底,中国军队共参与联合国 18 项维和行动,派出维和军事人员 10010 人次。在目前进行的联合国维和行动中,中国是安理会 5 个常任理事国里派出维和部队人数最多的国家。中国积极参与联合国维持和平行动,为维护世界和平发挥了重要作用,并为此作出了牺牲,共有 8 名官兵殉职。

三是积极推进地区安全对话与合作。中国积极推动与俄罗斯以及哈萨克斯坦、吉尔吉斯斯坦、塔吉克斯坦等中亚国家边界问题的解决,并在这一过程中先后成立了"上海五国"机制和上海合作组织,发展了新型的区域合作模式,为国际社会推进区域安全对话与合作提供

了很好的思路。中国积极参加东盟与中国“10＋1”、东盟与中日韩“10＋3”、东盟地区论坛等对话机制，并于2003年倡议成立了东盟地区安全政策会议机制，大大增进了东盟地区论坛各方的军事交流与互信。中国还积极参与亚太经合组织、东亚峰会、亚欧会议、亚洲相互协作与信任措施会议等对话与合作，发挥了建设性的作用。

中华民族历来爱好和平，讲求和睦相处。中国在对外关系上始终秉承“强不执弱”、“富不侮贫”的精神，主张“协和万邦”。中国的基本国策就是要坚持走和平发展的道路。为此，我们主张积极营造互信协作的国际安全环境，坚持以对话增进互信，以协商化解矛盾，以合作谋求稳定，解决各种传统和非传统安全问题，共同应对各种全球性的威胁和挑战，积极促进世界的持久和平和共同繁荣。

用中国智慧应对国际安全问题*

——答《中国社会科学报》记者问

65 年前，人类经历了一场规模空前的战争浩劫。在这场决定人类命运的生死大搏斗中，先后有数十个国家和地区的 20 多亿人口卷入战争，战火燃及欧、亚、非、大洋洲、太平洋、印度洋、大西洋和北冰洋。作战区域超过 2200 万平方公里，交战双方动员兵力达 1.1 亿人，因战争死亡的军人和平民超过 5500 万。作为抗击日本侵略者的主战场，中国人同样付出了血的代价，军民伤亡达 3500 万。追忆历史，以更好地走向和平的未来。为纪念中国人民抗日战争暨世界反法西斯战争胜利 65 周年，本报记者对中国人民解放军原副总参谋长熊光楷上将进行了专访。熊光楷上将是我国著名的军事外交家、国际战略专家，历任中共十四、十五、十六届中央候补委员，1996 年 1 月到 2005 年 12 月任中国人民解放军副总参谋长，2000 年被授予上将军衔，参与了我国许多对外重大事务的决策过程。围绕着 65 年前的战争、当前的国际形势及对未来世界和平局势的展望，熊光楷上将回答了记者的提问。

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* 本文系 2010 年 8 月 3 日《中国社会科学报》刊载的记者张平专访，系“纪念第二次世界大战与世界反法西斯战争胜利 65 周年”特别策划文章之一。

时代主题：从“战争与和平”到“和平与发展”

记者：今年是中国人民抗日战争暨世界反法西斯战争胜利 65 周年。半个多世纪过去了，当我们回顾那段历史，重新审视“二战”以来国际局势的种种嬗变，您如何评价这场战争及我们当前所处的国际环境？

熊光楷：人类为第二次世界大战付出了惨重的代价。中国作为世界反法西斯战争的东方主战场，同样遭遇了巨大的民族牺牲。但是，中国人民抗日战争及世界反法西斯战争的胜利使人类赢得了一次应对极其严重的传统安全威胁的胜利。在这次伟大的胜利之后，国际环境逐渐经历了一个从“战争与和平”到“和平与发展”的转变。尽管“冷战”开始后，美苏对抗使世界局势一度处于紧张之中，但随着世界多极化趋势的日渐明显，60 年代末 70 年代初，“和平与发展”逐渐取代“战争与和平”成为国际安全的主要议题。80 年代，中国领导人邓小平准确及时地把握住时代特征，提出了和平与发展是当代世界两大主题的科学论断。总体上看，目前我们仍处于“和平与发展”这一大的国际背景之下。

记者：针对国际环境的这种变化，您认为人类的国家安全观念发生了怎样的变化？为什么会有这种变化？

熊光楷：国家安全是决定国家生死存亡的至关重要的问题。国家安全观是关于国家安全问题的根本观点。从某种意义上说，国家安全战略是安全观的体现。传统的国家安全观主要是讲军事安全，但早在第二次世界大战之前，人们就已经开始探索新的国家安全观念。1929 年，英国人利德·哈特提出了“大战略”，将国家安全战略从单纯的军事战略扩展为包括政治、经济等诸多方面的更为丰富的比较现代的国家安全战略。第二次世界大战后，随着国际环境由“战争与和平”向“和平与发展”的转变，传统国家安全观遇到更多挑战。新的、综合的国家安全观念在世界上逐渐得到进一步发展。

之所以会出现这种变化，主要是因为军事安全已经不能成为国家安全的全部内容。第二次世界大战结束至今，虽然局部战争和武装冲突此起彼伏，但全球范围内没有出现过传统的世界大战。与此同时，以恐怖主义为代表的非传统安全威胁日益突出，特别是“9·11”事件之后。以2010年上半年为例，全球共发生恐怖事件500余起，造成2850人死亡，5492人受伤，其中伤亡百人以上的重大恶性恐怖事件24起。不仅如此，金融安全、能源安全、气候安全、环境安全、公共卫生安全等新的国际安全问题也日益凸显。在此情况下，军事安全不再是国家安全的全部内容，单纯的军事打击并不能保证国家安全各方面的需求，国际社会亟须倡导新的、综合的国家安全观。

新安全观：摒弃“零和”游戏，倡导合作“共赢”

记者：面对传统安全与非传统安全相互交织的新的国际安全局势，您认为中国主张怎样的新安全观？

熊光楷：人类曾经历了无数场战争，20世纪更是经历了两次世界大战和40年“冷战”对峙的磨难。进入新世纪，人类在受到传统安全威胁的同时，还增加了恐怖主义等非传统安全的威胁。历史和现实表明，武力不能从根本上解决争端与矛盾，以使用武力或以武力相威胁为基础的安全观念和体制难以营造持久和平。在此形势下，中国领导人把握时代脉搏，提出并倡导了新安全观。

1996年7月，中国领导人江泽民在第三届东盟地区论坛会议上提出摒弃冷战思维，顺应时代潮流，共同培育和推广新的合作安全观。2001年上海合作组织成立时，中国与各成员国共同倡导了“互信、互利、平等、协作”的新安全观。2009年，国家主席胡锦涛在第64届联大的一般性辩论中发表题为《同舟共济 共创未来》的讲话，再次强调：“我们应该坚持互信、互利、平等、协作的新安全观，既维护本国安全，又尊重别国安全关切，促进人类共同安全。”这就是当今中国主张的新安全观。

记者：倡导新安全观是国际局势的客观要求。那么，何谓新安全观？您能否就它的具体内容深入解析？

熊光楷：新安全观首先是一个综合的安全观念，包括政治、军事、经济、文化多个方面，其核心是“互信、互利、平等、协作”。

互信是指各国应超越意识形态和社会制度异同，摒弃冷战思维和强权政治心态，反对霸权主义，互不猜疑，互不敌视，通过对话，增加彼此信任，在互信的基础上发展国与国之间的合作关系。互利是指各国要顺应全球化发展趋势的客观要求，在实现自身安全利益的同时，相互尊重对方的安全利益，摒弃过时的“零和”观念，避免以损害他国利益来谋取自身的“绝对安全”，通过积极地参与国际安全合作，实现各国的共同安全。平等是指国家不论大小强弱，都应彼此尊重，平等相处，互不干涉内政，不把自己的价值观和意识形态强加于他国。协作是指各国通过对话协商，以和平谈判的方式解决争端，并就共同关心的安全问题进行广泛深入的合作，消除隐患，防止战争和冲突的发生。

我理解这八个字是相辅相成的有机整体，互信是新安全观的基础，互利是新安全观的目的，平等是新安全观的保证，协作是新安全观的方式。

记者：新安全观对国际社会的共同合作进行了突出强调。与旧的安全观相比，您认为新安全观在影响国家安全战略方面有怎样的突破？

熊光楷：与旧安全观相比，新安全观在影响国家安全战略方面有以下几个突破：第一，旧安全观把安全几乎等同于军事安全，但应对传统和非传统安全威胁是一个系统工程，单凭武力不可能从根本上解决问题。新安全观则主张安全是包括政治安全、经济安全、军事安全、文化安全、信息安全、生态安全等在内的综合安全。第二，旧安全观以牺牲他国的安全利益来谋求自身的“绝对安全”，突出少数大国或大国集团的利益，把安全看成是一场“零和”游戏，你赢我输、你得我失。而新安全观主张互相尊重对方的安全利益，在实现自身安全利益的同时，为对方安全创造条件，实现共同安全，追求“双赢”和“多赢”。第三，旧

安全观认为“非我族类，其心必异”，采取强化和扩大军事同盟的做法，排斥异己，到处树敌。而新安全观主张通过各种多边安全机制、多边安全论坛、双边安全磋商以及非官方安全对话等渠道，以对话增进互信，以协商化解矛盾，以合作谋求安全。第四，旧安全观以牺牲自然环境为代价，而新安全观则主张实现全面、协调、可持续发展，通过发展求安全。总体上看，新安全观是应对包括传统安全威胁和非传统安全威胁在内的各种安全威胁更为妥善的原则。

记者：新安全观在应对非传统安全威胁方面有其特点。那么，中国作为新安全观的倡导者有哪些具体的实践活动？

熊光楷：中国在国际反恐合作方面做出了积极努力。首先是倡导和参与创建了“上海合作组织”，为地区的稳定和安全作出了突出贡献。其次是中国与美国、俄罗斯、巴基斯坦等国开启并加强了反恐磋商。另外，中国与周边国家建立了军事互信，开展了军事合作。2002年至2009年，中国与周边国家共举行了25场联合军事演习和5场陆上联训。今年，中国已与巴基斯坦举行了联合反恐演习，9月份还将参加上合组织框架下的联合反恐演习。当然，为应对能源、金融、粮食、公共卫生及气候变化等多种非传统安全威胁，中国还积极参与国际协商与对话，不断提出中国的主张，发挥中国的作用。

国防建设：推进新军事变革，完成多样化军事任务

记者：从全球来看，在倡导新的、综合的国家安全观的同时，世界各国又是如何对待军事安全在国家安全中的地位和作用的呢？对此您有何看法？

熊光楷：第二次世界大战结束以来，虽然全球范围内的大战没有爆发，但局部战争和武装冲突从未间断。1945年至1989年新发生的局部战争和武装冲突平均每年4.5起。1990年至1999年10年间新发生的局部战争和武装冲突平均每年9.2起。进入21世纪，局部战争和武装冲突的数量仍居高不下，新发生的局部战争和武装冲突平均

每年 14.7 起。可以说，传统安全局势依然严峻，军事安全在国家安全中依然占据非常重要的地位。

在这一背景下，世界主要国家都加大了国防投入，以新军事变革为核心的国际军事竞争进一步加强。例如，2010 财政年度，美国的国防预算为 6363 亿美元，同比增长 3.97%；日本的国防预算为 47903 亿日元（约合 509.6 亿美元），同比增长 0.3%；俄罗斯的国防预算为 1.25 万亿卢布（约合 430 亿美元），同比增长 3.4%；印度的国防预算为 14734 亿卢比（约合 320 亿美元），同比增长 8.3%。与之相适应，以武器装备智能化、编制体制精干化、指挥控制自动化、作战空间多维化、作战样式体系化为特点的新军事变革成为新趋势。

记者：中国是一个大国，从大的国际环境来看，传统安全形势依然严峻、世界新军事变革方兴未艾。按照新的、综合的安全观的要求，中国的国防和军队建设是如何应对的？

熊光楷：面对新军事变革的潮流，中国领导人江泽民早在 2002 年就已明确提出，军队建设应适应世界军事变革的趋势，积极推进中国特色的军事变革。这种新军事变革的内容就包括：解决"打得赢，不变质"的历史性课题，增强信息化条件下的防卫作战能力；完成机械化、信息化建设的历史任务，实现军队建设的跨越式发展；优化军队结构，提高军队高技术含量，实现军队由数量规模型向质量效能型、由人力密集型向科技密集型的转变；适应时代发展，创新人民战争的战略战术；适当增加国防投入，提高军费使用效率；实施人才战略，培养、造就适应信息化条件下作战需要的高素质、新型军事人才。

记者：在传统安全和非传统安全相互交织的复杂情况下，中国的国防和军队建设是如何按照新的、综合的安全观加以应对的？

熊光楷：胡锦涛总书记在中国共产党第十七次全国代表大会上明确提出要"提高军队应对多种安全威胁、完成多样化军事任务的能力"。为此，中国的国防和军队建设正在以打赢信息化条件下作战能力为核心，提高完成多样化军事任务的能力。

例如，2010 年 4 月 14 日，青海玉树发生 7.1 级地震，死亡 2000 多

人。据统计，到 4 月 19 日 22 时，军队和武警共出动 12798 人，成功救出 1564 名被困群众，救治伤员 20047 人，运送帐篷、食品和救灾物资 5196 吨。

与此同时，中国还按照“互信、互利、平等、协作”的新安全观积极开展了军事外交。第一，积极发展与世界各国军队的友好关系，开展与各国军队间的高层互访、战略磋商和安全对话。以 2009 年为例，中国共派出 70 个重要军事代表团出访，接待 30 个国家的国防部长和 19 个国家的总参谋长访华，举行 8 次双边防务安全磋商。第二，着眼于维护世界和地区安全与稳定，不断深化务实性国际军事合作，如开展以联合军演为内容的防务安全合作，积极参加联合国维和行动。自 1989 年中国第一次参加联合国维和行动以来，截止到 2010 年上半年，中国人民解放军共参与联合国 18 项维和行动，派出维和军事人员 15603 人次，先后有 9 名军人殉职。就目前进行的联合国维和行动来看，中国是安理会 5 个常任理事国派出维和部队人数最多的国家。第三，支持国家反对核扩散和核恐怖主义的政策，积极参与国际军控核查事务，认真履行军控义务，积极参与各种国际军事援助。第四，努力拓展国际军事交流与合作，加强军事院校的对口交流和科研学术机构的学术交往。目前，我军已与美国、俄罗斯、新西兰、泰国等多国的军事院校建立了交流与协作关系。

熊光楷最后说，65 年前，在正义对邪恶、光明对黑暗、进步对倒退的世界反法西斯战争中，各国人民同仇敌忾、相互支援、并肩战斗，终于取得了世界反法西斯战争的胜利，拯救了人类文明，赢得了世界和平。今天，传统安全威胁并没有从国际舞台上消失，同时非传统安全威胁已成为又一个世界性课题。新的、综合的安全观主张恰恰展示出中国在国际战略问题上的智慧、勇气和决心。我们坚信，“长风破浪会有时，直挂云帆济沧海”，经过世界各国人民的共同努力，必定能建立起一个有利于持久和平与共同繁荣的人类生活更加美好的家园。

中国的国家安全观和国际新安全观*

近年来,中国综合国力实现了大幅提升,国际地位和影响力不断增强。2010 年中国经济总量达 5.88 万亿美元,占世界的比重升至 9.3%,成为世界上第二大经济体。但中国仍是世界上最大的发展中国家。2010 年人均 GDP 约为 4400 美元,居世界 100 位左右,与发达国家相比还有很大差距。中国要实现 2020 年全面建成小康社会、2050 年达到中等发达国家水平的目标,还面临很艰巨的发展任务。为此,中国需要长期和平稳定的国际环境,将坚定不移地走和平发展道路,既通过维护世界和平来发展自己,又通过自身的发展来促进世界和平。在此背景下,全面认识和了解中国的国家安全观和国际新安全观将有助于更加正确与客观地理解中国的安全战略和对外政策。

一、中国国家安全观的形成和发展是一个不断深化和拓展的历程

新中国成立 60 多年来,随着国际和国内安全形势的发展变化,中国对国家安全问题的认识也在不断拓展和延伸,整个发展过程大体经

* 本文系作者 2011 年 9 月 27 日出席“国际安全架构——欧洲和中国的视角”国际研讨会时所作开幕致辞。

过了两个时期。**第一个时期是改革开放之前的 30 年**。在新中国建立后的头 30 年，面对内忧外患、多面受敌的严峻安全形势，中国国家安全工作的关键是做好“三反”：“反侵略、反颠覆、反分裂”。那个时期国防安全自然而然成为国家安全观的核心。**第二个时期是改革开放以来的 30 多年。**改革开放以来，根据国际战略形势和外部环境的变化，中国政府提出和平与发展是当今时代主题的重要判断，将经济建设作为解决国际、国内问题的首要条件，确定了通过增强综合国力维护国家安全的战略思路，并逐步把国家安全观拓展为综合的大安全观，既包括政治、国防安全，也包括经济、文化、信息、能源、气候变化和公共卫生等多领域的安全。总之，当今中国的国家安全观既重视传统安全威胁，也密切关注非传统安全威胁；既重视加强本国自身安全，也密切关注国际安全。

二、中国积极倡导“互信、互利、平等、协作”的国际新安全观

当前，局部战争和武装冲突等传统安全挑战依然存在，同时随着世界多极化、经济全球化和社会信息化进程不断加快，人类共同安全问题日益突出。这些问题具有跨国性、突发性、联动性特征，国际社会应携手应对。为此，中国政府在国家安全观的基础上提出并积极倡导**“互信、互利、平等、协作”**的国际新安全观。**互信**，是指超越意识形态和社会制度异同，通过对话消除误解与分歧，避免战略误判。**互利**，是指各国在维护本国利益的同时，互相尊重对方的安全利益，实现共同安全。**平等**，是指国家无论强弱，都是国际社会的一员，应相互尊重，平等相待，推动国际关系的民主化。**协作**，是指以和平谈判的方式解决争端，并就共同关心的安全问题进行广泛深入的合作。**中国政府倡导的国际新安全观坚持共同安全理念**、综合安全理念和合作安全理念，主张各国彻底摈弃冷战思维，在互信基础上发展平等、协作，达到安全互利。

三、中国积极参与国际安全合作

在上述国家安全观和国际新安全观指引下，中国坚持开放、务实、合作的理念，深化国际安全合作，加强与主要国家和周边国家的战略协作和磋商，加强与发展中国家的军事交流与合作，积极参与联合国维和、反恐合作、国际护航等联合行动。**在联合国维和行动方面**，截至2011年9月上旬，我军已经参加30项联合国维和行动，累计派出维和军事人员2.1万余人。在目前仍在实施的由联合国主导的维和行动中，中国军队共有1876人在11个任务区执行任务，是安理会5个常任理事国中派出维和部队人数最多的国家。**在反恐合作方面**，除了在上合组织框架内的合作，中国积极开展与美国、加拿大、德国、俄罗斯、土耳其等国的反恐磋商，并不断密切与南亚、东南亚有关国家执法和情报部门的双边交流与合作。**在国际护航方面**，截至2011年9月中旬，中国军队共派出9批护航编队共计7600余名海军官兵参与索马里海域国际护航行动，累计接护中外商船总数4000余艘。此外，中国还积极参与国际救援、国际军控、裁军和防扩散等行动，并与国际社会一起共同应对金融经济安全、能源安全、生态安全以及公共卫生安全等领域的挑战。事实证明，中国坚持把国家安全和国际安全联系起来，与世界各国在互信基础上发展广泛深入的合作，以合作谋和平，以合作保安全，以合作促和谐，为促进国际社会的共同安全，维护世界的和平与稳定做出了重要贡献。

在新的历史条件下，传统安全威胁和非传统安全威胁相互交织，安全内涵已扩展到更多领域。国际社会应超越国际关系中陈旧的“零和博弈”，进一步强化综合安全、共同安全、合作安全理念，坚持综合施策、标本兼治，携手应对人类面临的多样化安全挑战，共同营造和平稳定、平等互信、合作共赢的国际安全环境。

中国国家安全观的发展*

一、新中国成立以来国家安全观的发展历程

新中国成立以来，我们党始终高度重视国家安全问题，将其摆在十分重要的战略位置，逐渐形成富有中国特色的国家安全战略思想，并不断予以创新发展。建国之初，**以毛泽东同志为核心的第一代中央领导集体**首先面临的是要解决新生政权的生存问题，然后才是探索如何发展。当时，我们对时代主题的看法概括讲就是“战争与革命”。我国的安全观主要集中在军事和政治两个方面，尤其突出的是“国防安全”，**核心的问题是“三反”，即反侵略、反颠覆、反分裂**。在实践上，实施了收复沿海岛屿、炮击金门、平息西藏叛乱等作战，展开抗美援朝和中印边境、珍宝岛、西沙群岛自卫反击作战，坚决维护了国家主权和领土完整。虽然毛泽东同志的著作由于时代背景不同没有使用“国家安全”这四个字，但毛泽东同志在理论和实践上对国家安全的重大历史性贡献是不可磨灭的。

改革开放后，**以邓小平同志为核心的第二代中央领导集体**对时代

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* 本文系作者 2014 年在国防科工局、清华大学、解放军南京国际关系学院等处讲课的部分提纲。

主题认识有了战略性转变，作出和平与发展成为时代主题、世界大战在一定条件下可以避免等重大判断，改变了战争不可避免而且迫在眉睫的看法，为制定国家安全政策提供了基本依据。邓小平同志注意到国家安全具有不可忽视的重要性，指出：**“国家的主权、国家的安全要始终放在第一位”**，为捍卫国家主权安全提供了核心原则。邓小平同志鲜明提出了以国家利益为最高准则处理外部关系，强调“任何外国不要指望中国做他们的附庸，不要指望中国会吞下损害我国利益的苦果”，为我国有效捍卫国家领土主权完整提供了新思路新路径；强调稳定压倒一切，要求防止和平演变，使我国经受住了苏东剧变冲击，顶住了美西方制裁压力，确保改革开放大业顺利进行。在实践上，分别在上世纪70年代和80年代实施了对越自卫反击战和老山边界作战以及南沙赤瓜礁海战。应该说，**“国家安全”这个概念是以邓小平同志为核心的第二代中央领导集体开始正式启用的一个新概念。**这个概念超越了“国防安全”，内容更加广泛，实际上引申出对我们国家的传统安全威胁和非传统安全威胁问题。

世纪之交，**以江泽民同志为核心的第三代中央领导集体**与时俱进，指出和平与发展仍是当今时代主题，相当长时期内避免新的世界大战是可能的，我国安全环境总体上将继续保持稳定，提出“重要战略机遇期”的判断，为营造良好国家安全环境提供了基本前提。2001年11月，江泽民同志在中央经济工作会议上提出6到7个安全领域，明确强调**“要头脑清醒、居安思危，深刻认识新形势下维护国家政治安全、经济安全、国防安全的极端重要性和紧迫性，确保信息安全、金融安全和粮食、石油等战略物资的安全”**。这将我们的安全观拓展到一个更大视野，把一个综合的安全观念所包含的内容，在当时都比较全面地加以概括了。在实践上，1993年通过了《中华人民共和国国家安全法》，并在1995年、1996年台海危机时两次进行导弹试射，充分展示了我保卫祖国领土完整的决心和实力。

新世纪新阶段，**以胡锦涛同志为总书记的党中央**根据国际国内的形势发展，沿着上述国家安全观念的发展思路，对国家安全问题又作

了一个概括。十六大报告开始提出传统安全与非传统安全概念,强调“传统安全威胁和非传统安全威胁的因素相互交织,恐怖主义危害上升”。在2005年1月的一次会议上,胡锦涛同志指出:**“要确保国家的政治安全、经济安全、文化安全、信息安全和国防安全。”**这一概括中包括5个重要领域。胡锦涛同志在2009年底的一次内部重要会议上指出,**“传统安全威胁和非传统安全威胁相互交织,传统安全威胁依然严峻,非传统安全威胁不断增加”,“非传统安全威胁具有跨国性、突发性、联动性特征,与传统安全威胁相互影响,可能引发综合性安全问题”**。这一论述进一步充实了国家安全观的内涵,深刻阐示了安全问题不仅包括传统安全问题,还应涵盖非传统安全问题。实际上,我们拓展的许多安全问题都在非传统安全领域内。胡锦涛同志还提出了非战争军事行动和新世纪新阶段军队肩负“三个提供、一个发挥”的历史使命,为有效应对我国家安全面临的挑战打下了坚实基础。在实践上,我海军自2008年12月26日开始,至2014年10月共派出18批舰艇赴亚丁湾和索马里海域执行护航任务。截至2014年8月1日,中国海军舰艇编队先后为5670余艘船舶实施了安全护航,成功解救、接护和救助了60余艘船舶,持续保持着被护船舶和船员两个百分之百安全的纪录。

2012年11月党的十八大选出了**以习近平同志为总书记的新一届党中央**,明确提出要**“高度关注海洋、太空、网络空间安全,积极运筹和平时期军事力量运用,不断拓展和深化军事斗争准备,提高以打赢信息化条件下局部战争能力为核心的完成多样化军事任务能力”**。这一概括特别将海洋、太空、网络空间三个领域突出地放到我们的综合安全观念范围内,值得我们高度重视。在2012年12月的一次重要会议上,习近平同志还指出:**“国际和地区局势动荡、恐怖主义、海盗活动、重大自然灾害等都可能对我国安全构成威胁,国际市场、海外能源资源和战略通道安全以及海外机构、人员和资产安全等海外利益安全问题凸显。”**这对我们综合安全观面临的突出问题又作了进一步阐述。2014年4月15日,习近平同志主持召开中央国家安全委员会第一次会议,明确提出要准确把握国家安全形势变化新特点新趋势,坚持总

体国家安全观，走出一条中国特色国家安全道路。**习主席提出的总体国家安全观具有以下深刻内涵和特点：一是首次提出五大安全要素**，即以人民安全为宗旨，以政治安全为根本，以经济安全为基础，以军事、文化、社会安全为保障，以促进国际安全为依托。我认为，把人民安全放在第一位，是总体国家安全观的一大亮点，体现了以人为本、执政为民理念；政治安全就是要坚持中国特色社会主义制度，只有坚持中国特色社会主义道路，才能发展中国、振兴中国；经济基础决定上层建筑，经济发展对于国家安全来说是基础；军事安全事关领土和主权完整、文化安全要求防范外来不良文化侵蚀、社会安全贴近民生，三者因此成为国家安全的重要保障；在全球化时代，中外联系日益紧密，中国的安全发展离不开周边以及国际环境稳定。**二是提出构建集 11 种安全于一体的国家安全体系**，主要包括政治安全、国土安全、军事安全、经济安全、文化安全、社会安全、科技安全、信息安全、生态安全、资源安全、核安全等，大大丰富了中国国家安全的内涵和外延，更具时代性。**三是体现了辩证统一、统筹兼顾的原则**，即要求“既重视外部安全，又重视内部安全；既重视国土安全，又重视国民安全；既重视传统安全，又重视非传统安全；既重视发展问题，又重视安全问题；既重视自身安全，又重视共同安全”，强调了国家安全的整体性和系统性，展现出中国捍卫国家安全的强烈信心和决心。总体国家安全观是在习主席直接领导下提出的，可以说是应运而生，既适应了形势要求，又顺应了民意诉求，是对国家安全形势的最新判断，是国家安全战略的总纲领，使我国的国家安全理论和体系更加完善、更加科学，对于统筹中国发展和应对国内外安全挑战十分重要，为实现中国梦和促进国家安全发展提供了重要保障。

二、我国国际安全观的发展演变

以毛泽东同志为核心的第一代中央领导集体提出了和平共处五项原则。1954 年 6 月 28 日，中印两国总理发表联合声明，倡导将和平

共处五项原则(即互相尊重主权和领土完整、互不侵犯、互不干涉内政、平等互利、和平共处)作为处理国际关系的准则。60年来,和平共处五项原则不仅成为中国奉行独立自主和平外交政策的基础,而且也被世界上绝大多数国家接受,成为规范国际关系的重要准则。

以邓小平同志为核心的第二代中央领导集体坚持和发展了和平共处五项原则。1984年10月31日,邓小平同志强调和平共处五项原则是最经得住考验的,应以其为准则建立国际新秩序。他指出:"处理国与国之间的关系,和平共处五项原则是最好的方式。其他方式,如'大家庭'方式,'集团政治'方式,'势力范围'方式,都会带来矛盾,激化国际局势。总结国际关系的实践,最具有强大生命力的就是和平共处五项原则。"这些重要论述为我国增进与各国交流合作、改善外部环境发挥了重要作用。

以江泽民同志为核心的第三代中央领导集体提出了新安全观。1999年3月,江泽民同志在日内瓦裁军谈判会议上首次提出以"互信、互利、平等、协作"为核心的新安全观,并于2001年"七·一"讲话中对新安全观做了进一步阐述。这是江泽民同志第一次在党的重要文件中明确提出这一思想,为新时期维护我国家安全利益、塑造一个和平安宁的国际安全环境提供了科学的理论依据和行动指南。

以胡锦涛同志为总书记的党中央坚持和发展了新安全观。新世纪新阶段,国际和周边安全环境出现了许多新情况新变化。胡锦涛同志指出:"我们要坚持倡导互信、互利、平等、协作的新安全观,坚持在和平共处五项原则的基础上同各国友好相处,在平等互利的基础上同各国开展交流合作,推动建立公正合理的国际政治经济新秩序。"这一重要论述进一步充实了新安全观的时代内涵,为我国有效处理国际安全问题提供了重要依据。

以习近平同志为总书记的新一届党中央又提出了一些重要的新论述、新思想。2013年4月7日,习主席在博鳌亚洲论坛上发表主旨演讲,深刻指出:"我们生活在同一个地球村,应该牢固树立命运共同体意识,顺应时代潮流,把握正确方向,坚持同舟共济,推动亚洲和世

界发展不断迈上新台阶”;“国际社会应该倡导综合安全、共同安全、合作安全的理念,使我们的地球村成为共谋发展的大舞台,而不是相互角力的竞技场”。2014 年 5 月 21 日,习主席在亚信第四次峰会上首次积极倡导“共同、综合、合作、可持续”的亚洲安全观,并深刻指出:“共同,就是要尊重和保障每一个国家安全;综合,就是要统筹维护传统领域和非传统领域安全;合作,就是要通过对话合作促进各国和本地区安全;可持续,就是要发展和安全并重以实现持久安全”;强调“要创新安全理念,搭建地区安全和合作新架构,努力走出一条共建、共享、共赢的亚洲安全之路”。上述最新论述是对中国国际安全观的进一步创新和发展,体现了习主席宽广的战略视野和深邃的战略思考。

三、我国国家安全体制机制的发展完善

由于我们国家安全观的不断拓展,我国国家安全体制机制也有了相应发展。1999 年,我们国家在安全问题上发生了一系列事件:**一是**“法轮功”分子包围中南海;**二是**我国驻南联盟大使馆遭美国轰炸;**三是**李登辉抛出“两国论”。复杂的国内安全稳定问题、对台斗争问题和对美重大安全事件,使得中央认识到原有按部门来处理安全问题的体制已经不能适应形势发展需求。**中央经过深思熟虑后,2000 年正式决定成立中央国家安全工作领导小组,当时是由总书记江泽民同志担任组长**。这个小组成立时就明确了它的职责——在中央政治局常委领导下,协调除经济安全工作以外的所有国家安全问题。经济安全问题由中央政治局常委领导下的中央财经工作领导小组来负责。胡锦涛同志 2002 年担任总书记以后,出任了中央国家安全领导小组组长。我从 2000 年到 2005 年一直是该领导小组成员。小组有办事机关,我们当时对外是一个单位两个牌子,对外叫中央外事办公室,还有一个名称是国务院外事办公室,这个单位在我们内部又是中央国家安全领导小组的办公室。

2013 年 11 月 12 日,党的十八届三中全会决定设立**中央国家安全**

委员会，负责统筹协调涉及国家安全的重大事项和重要工作。2014 年 1 月 24 日，中共中央政治局召开会议，决定由习近平任中央国家安全委员会主席，李克强、张德江任副主席，下设常务委员和委员若干名。至此，我国开始拥有应对国内外综合安全和制定国家安全战略的顶层运作机制，这是党中央在国家安全领域做出的重大战略决策，对维护我国国家安全和发展利益、实现“两个一百年”奋斗目标具有重要意义。需要强调的是，中央军委统管军队，这一体制始终未变。

第四部分

历史使命与中国军队建设

维护世界和平、促进共同发展是中国军队的一项重要历史使命*

当前，随着中国经济的快速发展和综合国力的不断壮大，中国的国防和军队现代化建设引起了不少国家的关注。中华民族历来是一个热爱和平的民族。中国领导人在国际国内重大场合多次强调，中国选择和坚持的是和平发展道路。中国的发展需要一个持久稳定的和平国际环境。为争取和平的国际环境，确保国防安全，中国坚持国防建设与经济建设协调发展，加强国防和军队的现代化建设。这不仅不会妨碍和威胁任何人，而且为维护世界和平与稳定发挥着重要作用。但近一个时期以来，国外有些人由于对中国不够了解或别的原因，对中国军队的发展产生了一些疑虑，甚至散布所谓"中国威胁论"特别是"中国军事威胁论"，混淆视听。对此，我今天就中国的国防开支、国防政策问题以及中国军队对维护世界和平与促进共同发展所做的贡献，介绍一些情况。总题目是：维护世界和平、促进共同发展是中国军队的一项重要历史使命。分三点讲：

* 本文系作者 2006 年 3 月 20 日在中国国际问题研究所举办的国际学术会议上的演讲。

一、中国的国防开支是适度的

中国是一个发展中国家。改革开放以来,中国政府始终坚持集中力量进行经济建设这个重点,中国政府安排国防费也反映了这个重点。1979年至2006年,中国的国防费占同期全国财政支出的比例呈总体下降趋势,1979年为17.37%,2006年为7.4%。2006年与1979年相比,下降约10个百分点。近年来,中国在国家经济发展和财政收入增长的基础上,适度增加了国防开支,但对国防的投入仍是适度和有限的。2006年中国的国防支出安排为2807.29亿元人民币,约合351亿美元,比上年增长14.7%。

尽管近年来中国国防费适度增加,但中国是一个大国,有22000多公里的陆地边界、18000多公里的大陆海岸线,有13亿人口和230万军队,无论是国防费用的绝对值或军人人均数额,还是国防费占国内生产总值(GDP)或国家财政支出的比重,在世界上都处于较低水平。首先看国防费用的绝对值。2005年中国国防费为302亿美元,而同年美国、英国、日本、法国的国防费分别为4220亿美元、488亿美元、453亿美元和365亿美元,中国的国防预算仅相当于美国的7%,英国的62%,日本的67%,法国的83%。2006年中国国防费为351亿美元,而美国、日本的国防费分别为4415亿美元、450亿美元,中国的国防费仍只相当于美国的7%—8%左右,日本的78%。其次看军人人均数额。2006年中国230万军队的人均国防费仅1.5万美元,而美国军人人均国防费为31.8万美元,是中国的20多倍;日本军人人均国防费为16.3万美元,是中国的10多倍。再看国防费占GDP和政府财政支出的比重。2005年中国国防费占GDP的比重为1.36%,而美国为3.6%,英国为2.59%,法国为1.98%。2005年中国国防费占财政支出的比重是7.34%,而美国占17.8%,法国占11.4%,德国占9.25%。

中国增加的国防费主要用于以下几个方面:一是保障养兵过日

子。随着经济发展和人民生活水平的提高,需要提高军队人员的工资福利待遇。自改革开放以来,中国经济年均增长9%以上,2005年国内生产总值达到182321亿元人民币,约合22257亿美元。城镇居民人均可支配收入达到10493元人民币,实际增长9.6%。在国家社会经济发展和城乡居民人均收入提高的同时,军人的工资待遇也需要适当提高,尽可能解决官兵生活待遇上的急迫问题,把养好兵、过好日子摆在重要位置。二是保证军队信息化建设的推进。世界新军事变革全面展开,世界发达国家军队都在加快信息化建设步伐。中国军队目前还处于机械化半机械化水平,信息化建设才刚刚起步,与发达国家军队相比还有相当大的差距,要实现由机械化半机械化向信息化的跨越式发展这个长期目标,需要逐步适度增加部分装备建设经费,提高军队信息化条件下的防卫作战能力。三是加大新型军事人才建设的投入。今年,将加大对军队院校的经费投入,增加部队军事训练费投入,改善院校教学条件和部队训练保障条件,为吸引和保留人才创造条件。还要加大依托地方高校培养军队干部的投入,尽可能地把地方优秀人才吸引到军队中来。四是增加军用油料的购置费用。一年多来国际市场油价持续走高,2005年8月29日纽约市场原油期货价格亚洲交易时段曾创下每桶70.80美元的历史新高,比2004年底每桶43.35美元上涨了63%。此后,油价虽有起有落,但长期保持在每桶60美元上下的高位。军用油料消费量较大,高油价时代的到来,必然造成军用油料支出的大幅增加。此外,近两年来中国物价有所上升,2004年为3.9%,2005年为1.8%。考虑到这些因素,中国国防费的实际增长确实是有限的。

当前中国的中心任务是发展经济、改善人民生活,发展是我们的第一要务。中国的国防开支始终是有限的、较低水平的。中国政府依据《中华人民共和国国防法》,将国防费纳入国家财政预算安排,由全国人民代表大会审查批准,并按《中华人民共和国预算法》实施管理。国外有的人对中国公布的国防费数字总是持怀疑态度,认为中国隐瞒了国防费开支的实际数字,宣称中国国防费是公布数字的2至3倍。

如果真是这样的话,中国国防费占政府财政支出的比重将达到20%左右,这对国家经济建设和政府财政来说,完全是不可想象和难以承受的。中国不可能也没有必要把国家有限的资源如此大量地投入无限的军备竞赛之中,不可能也没有必要以牺牲人民的福祉为代价扩张军备。中国国防开支的增长是公开、透明、适度的。

二、中国的国防政策的防御性是透明的

建国以来,中国坚定不移地奉行防御性的国防政策。这是由中国的国家利益、社会制度、对外政策和历史文化传统等因素所决定的。

中国宪法对武装力量基本职责的规定充分体现了国防政策的防御性。中国作为社会主义国家和发展中国家,所选择的社会制度、发展道路和发展战略,不会产生对外侵略扩张的因素,也不会产生扩张性的军事政策。作为国家的根本大法,宪法赋予武装力量的基本职责是"巩固国防,抵抗侵略,保卫祖国,保卫人民的和平劳动,参加国家建设事业,努力为人民服务"。近代中国屡遭外敌入侵,饱受屈辱和欺凌。中国人民从历史的经验教训中得出的一条重要结论,就是要始终把维护国家的主权和领土完整、维护国家的安全和统一放在第一位。保卫祖国、抵抗侵略、维护统一、反对分裂,既是中国国防政策的基本目标,也是宪法赋予中国武装力量的防御职责。

中国领导人历来都明确主张防御性的国防政策。中华五千年的灿烂文明,把热爱和平、反对战争、珍惜友谊、反对侵略的信念,深深根植于民族的思想文化传统当中。中国的历代领导人都强调对外和平共处的思想,奉行防御性的国防政策。毛泽东主席早在建国之前,就提出"人不犯我,我不犯人"的自卫原则,1956年9月他在会见外宾时指出"中国人民是爱好和平的。我们认为,侵略就是犯罪,我们不侵犯别人一寸土、一根草",20世纪70年代他又提出中国永远"不称霸"的战略思想。邓小平主席继承并坚持了中国永远"不称霸"的思想,并把"反对霸权主义,维护世界和平"作为中国的国策,他在1992年2月的

南巡讲话中还再次强调:“社会主义中国应该用实践向世界表明,中国反对霸权主义、强权政治,永不称霸。中国是维护世界和平的坚定力量。”江泽民主席1997年10月在对美国进行历史性访问时的演讲中指出:“中国的国防政策是防御性的,国防费用在所有大国中是最低的。中国发展了,不会对任何人构成威胁。今后中国发达起来了,也永远不称霸。”他在2002年11月8日作十六大报告时再次强调要“树立互信、互利、平等和协作的新安全观,通过对话和合作解决争端,而不应诉诸武力或以武力相威胁。反对各种形式的霸权主义和强权政治。中国永远不称霸,永远不搞扩张。”胡锦涛主席在2004年底郑重提出,中国军队要为党巩固执政地位提供重要的力量保证,为维护国家发展的重要战略机遇期提供坚强的安全保障,为维护国家利益提供有力的战略支撑,为维护世界和平与促进共同发展发挥重要作用。中国领导人历来的主张说明中国国防政策的防御性是一以贯之的。

中国军队自建国以来始终奉行了防御性的国防政策。中国从来不发动侵略战争,不进行军事扩张,不搞军事集团,不参加军备竞赛,不在国外建立军事基地。

值得一提的是,自20世纪80年代以来,中国政府多次主动采取单方面的裁军行动。1985年决定裁减军队员额100万,1997年决定在三年内再裁减军队员额50万,2003年决定在两年内再次裁减军队员额20万。通过上述三次大规模裁军,使军队总规模降至230万。短短十几年间,中国单方面裁军行动的范围之广、裁减幅度之大,在国际裁军史上是非常少见的。这充分体现了中国政府和中国军队热爱和平、维护和平的真诚愿望,得到国际社会的普遍赞扬。

历史和现实一再证明,中国的防御性国防政策,是真实的、真诚的,因为它符合中国的根本利益和长远利益,也符合“和平、发展、合作”的时代潮流,符合世界其他国家和地区的利益。中国的防御性国防政策,决不是权宜之计。从1840年鸦片战争到1949年新中国建立,中国人民经历了100多年的战乱,西方几乎所有列强都侵略过中国。饱受战争伤害的中国人民,最懂得和平的弥足珍贵,最不愿意再

发生战争。但任何国家、任何人也不能把战争强加于中国。如果有人把战争强加于中国,中国必将进行坚决的自卫。这就是中国防御性国防政策的真谛。

三、中国军队为维护世界和平做出了重要贡献

中国坚持走和平发展的道路。中国军队在维护国家主权和安全的同时,始终将维护世界和平与促进共同发展作为自身的重要使命。近年来,中国军队积极贯彻中国政府独立自主的和平外交政策,发展不结盟、不对抗、不针对第三方的军事合作关系,参与联合国维和行动和国际反恐合作,建立军事安全对话机制,为促进世界和平与地区安全做出了重要的贡献。

中国军队积极参与联合国维和行动。中国自1990年首次向联合国维和行动派遣军事观察员以来,一贯支持由联合国主导和实施的维和行动,并不断扩大参与力度。截止到2006年2月,中国军队已先后向14项联合国维和行动派出维和军事人员4500多人次,其中维和部队3900多人次、军事观察员和参谋军官900多人次。现在,中国军队仍有875名维和军事人员在联合国8个任务区执行任务,包括776名维和部队官兵、91名军事观察员和参谋军官。在目前仍在进行的由联合国主导的维和行动中,中国是安理会5个常任理事国中派出维和部队人数最多的国家。应联合国要求,并经国务院和中央军委批准,我军不久还将向联合国苏丹特派团和联合国驻黎巴嫩临时部队分别派出维和部队、军事观察员和参谋军官,共640人,部署完毕后,我军在国外执行联合国维和任务的军事人员总数将达到1500多人。自参加联合国维和行动以来,中国维和军事人员严格遵循联合国的授权,恪尽职守,努力工作,出色地完成了联合国赋予的任务,受到了广泛赞誉,充分展现了中国军队"威武之师、文明之师、和平之师"的良好形象,为维护世界和平与地区稳定做出了重要贡献。在此期间,共有7名中国维和军人在执行维和任务中献出了宝贵的生命,他们是为实现

和平而牺牲的,也是视维护世界和平为己任的中国军人的优秀代表。联合国秘书长向牺牲的 7 名中国维和军人颁发了“哈马舍尔德”勋章,以表彰中国维和军人为世界和平做出的贡献。

中国军队积极参与国际安全合作。中国支持并积极参加联合国等多边框架内的国际反恐斗争,努力扩大与有关国家的反恐合作。中国军队加强了边境管控,严密防范恐怖分子的渗透、流窜,为国际反恐斗争做出了贡献。中国军队积极参加地区安全对话与合作。我们推动建立了上海合作组织国防部长会晤机制,主办了上海合作组织成员国防务研讨班,并于 2005 年 11 月 7 日举办了首次上海合作组织防务安全论坛会议。中国军队自 1995 年以来参与了东盟地区论坛(ARF)的所有官方活动,特别是积极倡导并于 2004 年 11 月 4—6 日主办了首次东盟地区论坛安全政策会议,推动了该论坛对话机制的深入发展。中国军队还积极参与了西太平洋海军论坛、东北亚合作对话会、亚太安全合作理事会等多边安全对话机制的活动。自 20 世纪 90 年代中期以来,为增进中外军队之间的相互了解与信任,中国军队开始与外军开展高层战略磋商。1997 年,中俄之间建立了总参谋部战略磋商机制,截止到 2005 年已进行 9 次磋商;同年,中美之间也建立了国防部副部长级防务磋商机制,截止到 2005 年已举行 7 次磋商。目前,中国军队已分别与俄、美、英、法、德、日、澳、蒙古、泰国、菲律宾、巴基斯坦、吉尔吉斯、哈萨克斯坦共 13 国军队建立和保持了军方高层战略磋商。这些战略磋商对于中外军队之间增信释疑、稳定与发展双边军事关系,发挥了积极的作用。

中国军队积极参与多边、双边联合军事演习。自 2002 年以来,中国军队已与外军举行过 10 次联合军演。2002 年 10 月,中国和吉尔吉斯军队首次举行了双边联合反恐演习。2003 年 8 月,中、俄、哈、吉、塔五国军队首次举行了上海合作组织框架内的多边联合反恐演习。2004 年 8 月,中国和巴基斯坦军队首次举行了高海拔地区联合反恐演习。特别是 2005 年 8 月 18—25 日,中俄两军首次举行了迄今为止规模最大的中外联合军演。中国军队还先后与巴基斯坦、印度、法国、英

国、澳大利亚举行了联合海上搜救演习。与此同时,中国军队也积极向外军开放内部演习。2000 年 11 月,中国军队首次邀请外军(美军)人员观摩演习。自那时以来已向外军开放了 5 次演习,特别是 2005 年 9 月 27 日,中国军队首次邀请包括美国、俄罗斯在内共 24 个国家的军方人员,到朱日河训练基地观摩"北剑—2005"大规模演习。这是迄今为止邀请国家最多的一次。通过上述演习,有力地促进了中外军队之间的军事交流与合作。

中国军队还积极参与国际人道主义救援。中国军队建立了救援应急机制,在 2004 年 12 月印度洋海啸、2005 年 8 月美国南部遭受飓风袭击、2005 年 10 月南亚大地震等灾难发生后,都迅速启动了这一机制,承担了为受灾国紧急筹措和运输救援物资的任务,多次在第一时间将救灾物资运抵受灾地区,赢得受灾国政府和人民的高度赞誉。

中国军队无论在过去、现在还是将来,都将维护世界和平、促进共同发展作为自身的一项重要使命。中国军队将始终奉行防御性的国防政策,坚持国防建设与经济建设协调发展,不断加强与有关国家军队的友好交往与合作,进一步营造互信互利的军事安全环境,为维护世界和平与促进共同发展做出新的贡献。

五位领导人的重要题词指示与中国军队建设的指导思想*

我军是一支在中国共产党绝对领导下的人民武装。党对军队的绝对领导，是我军永远不变的灵魂，是我军的基本军事制度和国家政治制度的重要组成部分。人民军队的创建发展史，就是一部在党领导下战胜国内外强大敌人，夺取政权，巩固国防，革命化、现代化、正规化水平不断提高的历史。

2014 年 3 月，经中央军委和习主席批准，全军和武警部队各级党委（支部）会议室统一悬挂毛泽东、邓小平、江泽民、胡锦涛、习近平重要题词指示。习主席这一重要决策，是加强我军思想政治建设的重要举措，对于营造浓厚政治氛围和鲜明思想导向，汇聚爱党强国兴军的正能量，极大激发我军的战斗意志和战斗精神，提高部队的战斗力，确保能打仗打胜仗具有十分重要的意义。五位领导人重要题词指示，一以贯之的灵魂就是对党的绝对忠诚，始终将军队的使命定位在战斗队上，一致强调坚持人民军队的性质和宗旨。同时，这些重要题词指示又反映了不同时代背景和国内外形势下的创新与发展，为我们在不同时期的国防和军队建设发展指明了方向。

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* 本文系作者 2014 年在国防科工局、清华大学、解放军南京国际关系学院等处讲课的部分提纲。

引言：坚持党的绝对领导是军队建设不变的灵魂

人民军队作为执行党的政治任务的武装集团，从诞生之日起就以党的旗帜为旗帜、以党的任务为任务。坚持党对军队的绝对领导，是建军之本、胜利之本。1921 年 7 月 23 日，中国共产党在上海召开第一次全国代表大会，这是中国历史上一件开天辟地的大事。1927 年 8 月 1 日，中国共产党领导并发动了南昌起义，成为党独立领导人民以武装的革命反对武装的反革命的起点。南昌起义创建了人民军队，在起义部队团以上单位建立党组织，规定“党的组织是一切组织的根源”，“党的作用高于一切”。1927 年 9 月 29 日，毛泽东领导秋收起义后在江西省永新县三湾村组织“三湾改编”，创造性地确立了“党指挥枪”、“支部建在连上”、“官兵平等”等一整套崭新的治军方略，从政治上、组织上实现了党对士兵的直接掌握，确保了党对军队的绝对领导，奠定了政治建军的基础。1929 年 12 月 28 日，古田会议在福建省上杭县古田村召开，明确规定在红军中建立党的领导中枢“是军中党的组织的重要原则之一”，从政治上、思想上、组织上确立了党领导军队的一系列根本原则、制度和措施。在这一原则指导下，我党后来逐渐形成在农村建立根据地、农村包围城市、武装夺取政权道路的思想和实践，领导军队建设和发展，以劣胜优，以弱胜强，成功开展了波澜壮阔的人民战争，战胜国内外强大敌人，创建了新中国。建国以后，尽管我军的体制编制、使命任务和社会环境等发生很大变化，但党领导军队这一根本原则始终不曾动摇。80 多年来的历史表明，正是在党的坚强领导下，我军才能够战胜千难万险不断成长壮大，不断从胜利走向胜利，成为有力捍卫国家主权安全和领土完整的重要力量。

一、毛泽东同志的重要题词

1938 年 3 月 5 日，毛泽东为中国人民抗日军事政治大学（简称“抗大”）作出“**坚定正确的政治方向，艰苦朴素的工作作风，灵活机动的战**

略战术”的重要题词。该题词成为“抗大”的教育方针。当时，这一题词产生的主要背景：**一是培养军事作战人才的需要**。红军长征到达陕北之后，毛泽东于 1936 年 4 月决定将原江西根据地的中国红军大学继续办下去。同年 6 月 1 日，在毛泽东直接领导下，建立了“中国人民抗日红军大学”（简称“红大”），这便是“抗大”的第一期。1937 年 1 月，党中央机关由保安迁至延安，“红大”也随之搬到延安。此时，全国抗日救亡运动风起云涌，各地革命知识青年纷纷奔赴延安，对我们党提出了教育培养知识青年的新任务。根据党中央和毛泽东指示，中央军委将“红大”正式更名为“中国人民抗日军政大学”，除继续培养红军干部外，还把培养革命知识青年作为一项重要任务。鉴于学员数量增加和学校规模扩大的新情况，中央军委又成立了抗大教育委员会，由毛泽东亲自担任委员会主席，直接领导学校的教育与建设工作。面对新形势新任务，为培养更多作战人才，明确“抗大”工作方向，毛泽东遂为其亲笔题词。1938 年 4 月，毛泽东进一步为“抗大”题写了“团结、紧张、严肃、活泼”八个大字。该题词成为“抗大”的校训。**二是明确党对军队绝对领导的需要**。“抗大”的教育方针和校训，也是毛泽东在同王明机会主义路线等错误思想斗争中逐渐确立的。当时，以王明为代表的机会主义路线提出“三民主义是抗大的重要课程”，“三民主义是抗大政治团结的基础”等主张，企图否定党对军队的领导，把“抗大”办成一般的统一战线的学校。为与这一错误路线进行针锋相对的斗争，毛泽东再三强调“抗大”不是统一战线的学校，而是党领导下的八路军的干部学校。毛泽东还亲自领导“抗大”的干部和学员参加当时党内的两条路线斗争，并多次到该校登台演讲，深入浅出、慷慨激昂地揭露和批判王明的机会主义路线。在毛泽东的教育号召下，“抗大”有力抵制了王明机会主义路线的干扰破坏，落实了毛泽东亲自制定的教育方针，坚持了正确政治方向。毛泽东的重要题词指导我军在党的领导下始终坚持人民战争、人民军队的思想，为建立政权和保卫政权发挥了重要作用。

二、邓小平同志的重要题词

1987 年 8 月 1 日，邓小平为在中国人民革命军事博物馆举办的“中国人民解放军新的历史时期建设成就展览”作出**“为把我军建设成为一支强大的现代化正规化革命军队而奋斗”**的重要题词。1981 年我在军事学院高级系速成班学习了一年。据我学习了解，邓小平实际上早在 1981 年就正式提出了“三化”思想。上世纪 70 年代末 80 年代初，国际政治和国内形势处在重要的历史转折时期。党的十一届三中全会做出把党的工作重心从以阶级斗争为纲转移到以经济建设为中心的重大战略决策，国家建设和社会发展呈现一派勃勃生机。但是，在新时期应该建设一支什么样的军队、怎样建设军队、未来打什么样的仗、怎样打仗的问题，仍十分尖锐而严峻地摆在全党全军面前，迫切需要做出科学回答。正是在这种形势下，1980 年 9 月 17 日中央军委举办了被称为“801”会议的全军高级干部研究班，邓小平发表重要讲话，明确提出“积极防御”军事战略方针，强调强势防御，就是以防为主、防中有攻、以攻助防。这一方针内在的必然要求就是把我军建设成为一支强大的现代化军队。邓小平的讲话统一了对新时期军事战略方针的思想认识。“801”会议后，总参提出在华北某地组织一次方面军防御作战演习的设想。1981 年 3 月，邓小平在听取演习方案汇报后，明确指出“要搞得好一点，要把军队的气鼓一下，要把军队训练得像个军队样子”。邓小平站在国家建设大局和军队建设全局的高度，下决心搞大规模实兵演习，就是要扭转局面，并以此凝聚军心、重振军威，把军队建设引导到以现代化为中心的正确轨道上来。1981 年 9 月 14 日至 18 日举行华北军事演习，这是新中国成立以来我军规模最大的一次演习，是我军第一次方面军规模的战略性战役演习，也是邓小平同年 6 月出任中央军委主席后抓的第一件大事。演习把强势防御、坚守防御这一积极防御方针的要义充分演示出来。9 月 19 日阅兵式

结束后，邓小平代表党中央、中央军委发表重要讲话，明确提出：**“我军是人民民主专政的坚强柱石，肩负着保卫社会主义祖国、保卫四化建设的光荣使命。因此，必须把我军建设成为一支强大的现代化、正规化的革命军队**。”至此，我军在经历“文化大革命”十年动乱破坏后，重新确立了“三化”的总目标，标志着新时期我军建设在根本方向上实现了拨乱反正，也标志着邓小平新时期军队建设思想基本形成。**“三化”之中，革命化是前提，正规化是保障，现代化是中心**。党的领导是我军不变的灵魂，不能搞了现代化就忘了革命化。这一时期的军队现代化就是实现机械化，先后成立了 38 军和 39 军两个机械化军，推动我军不断向机械化方向迈进。

三、江泽民同志的重要题词

1996 年 4 月 16 日，江泽民为中国人民解放军作出“**政治合格 军事过硬 作风优良 纪律严明 保障有力**”的重要题词。这是对邓小平新时期军事思想的创新发展，也是新时期军队建设的总要求，由总政治部统一制作，于当年“八一”前与毛泽东、邓小平的题词一起印发全军，在连以上单位悬挂张贴。实际上，江泽民早在 1990 年 12 月 1 日全军军事工作会议上就提出了这五句话。上世纪 80 年代末 90 年代初，我国防和军队建设所面临的历史条件发生深刻变化，世界新军事变革蓬勃兴起，高技术局部战争登上历史舞台，争夺高技术质量优势成为国际军事竞争的焦点。江泽民指出：**“对于新时期的军队建设，有两个最重要的问题是我始终加以关注的：一个是在复杂的国际环境中，我军能不能跟上世界军事发展的趋势，打赢未来可能发生的高技术战争；一个是在社会主义市场经济和对外开放条件下，我军能不能保持人民军队的性质、本色和作风，始终成为党绝对领导下的革命军队**。”可以说，江泽民国防和军队建设思想的全部内容都是围绕“打得赢、不变质”这两个历史性课题展开的，江泽民领导国防和军队建设的全部实

践都是以解决这两个历史性课题为根本出发点和落脚点。1995 年 5 月 22 日，美国克林顿政府宣布允许李登辉 6 月份对美进行私人访问，对中美关系和台海局势产生严重负面影响，进而引发台海危机。1995 年 7 月至 1996 年 3 月，为向全世界充分展示我保卫领土主权完整的决心和实力，我军先后进行一系列军演，并分别在东海和南海进行导弹试射，达到了震慑“台独”分裂分子和威慑美西方敌对势力的预期效果。当时我已在总参的领导岗位上，亲自经历了这一过程。此次台海危机凸显建设强大军队的重要性。在此背景下，江泽民决定将“五句话”作为全军连以上单位悬挂张贴的重要题词。**“五句话”抓住政治、军事、作风、纪律和保障这五个直接关系我军战斗力生成的基本要素，科学揭示了军队建设各个方面的紧密联系、涵盖了新形势下军队建设的基本内容，把部队各个方面工作纳入革命化现代化正规化建设的轨道，既有很强的总体指导性，又有很强的实践性和可操作性。**在江泽民领导下，我国于 1997 年制定了新世纪国防和军队现代化建设“三步走”的战略构想，狠抓两期 995 工程，提出积极推进中国特色军事变革，我国防和军队现代化建设取得巨大成就。

四、胡锦涛同志的重要指示

2008 年 12 月 24 日，胡锦涛在军委扩大会议上提出，要围绕强化官兵精神支柱，大力培育“**忠诚于党、热爱人民、报效国家、献身使命、崇尚荣誉**”的当代革命军人核心价值观，这既是我军新时期应对意识形态领域激烈斗争的根本原则，也是履行新世纪新阶段我军历史使命的必然要求。**从意识形态领域斗争背景看**，新世纪以来，美西方在东欧和独联体地区大力策动颜色革命，导致一些国家政权相继垮台。我国是世界上最大社会主义国家，也是正在崛起的发展中大国，美西方日益将我作为策划颜色革命的重点目标，我政权安全面临威胁持续增大。同时，随着我国社会迅猛发展，各种价值观念相互交织影响，在不

同程度上影响着军队，为军队的思想政治教育带来严峻挑战。所以胡锦涛要求军队“忠诚于党”、“热爱人民”、“报效国家”。**从履行我军历史使命要求看**，针对国内外形势发生深刻变化，我军承担的使命任务不断拓展，胡锦涛将新世纪新阶段我军历史使命概括为**“三个提供、一个发挥”(即：为党巩固执政地位提供重要的力量保证；为维护国家发展的重要战略机遇期提供坚强的安全保障；为国家利益的拓展提供有力的战略支撑；为维护世界和平与促进共同发展发挥重要作用)**。所以，军队要“献身使命”。从当代革命军人核心价值观的高度看，胡锦涛科学概括和阐明了当代革命军人必须坚持的最基本、最核心的价值观念，提出“崇尚荣誉”，对新形势下军队建设具有重大战略意义。

五、习近平同志的重要指示

2013 年 3 月 11 日，习近平在出席十二届全国人大一次会议解放军代表团全体会议时作出**“努力建设一支听党指挥能打胜仗作风优良的人民军队”**的重要指示。该指示成为党在新形势下的强军目标。2014 年 3 月 15 日，习近平在中央军委深化国防和军队改革领导小组第一次全体会议上强调：**深化国防和军队改革，要把思想和行动统一到党中央和中央军委的决策部署上来，坚持用强军目标审视改革、以强军目标引领改革、围绕强军目标推进改革。**此前，习近平在 2012 年底军委扩大会议上就明确提出“建设一支听党指挥、能打胜仗、作风优良的人民军队”。习近平提出强军目标的大背景是实现中华民族伟大复兴中国梦以及国际战略形势、国家安全环境发展变化要求国防和军队建设必须有一个大的发展。**从实现中国梦的角度看**，实现强国的中国梦对军队来说就是要实现强军梦。当前，我们前所未有地接近实现中华民族伟大复兴的目标，前所未有地具有实现这个目标的能力和信心。但中华民族伟大复兴绝不是轻轻松松就能实现的，我们越是发展壮大，面临的阻力和压力就会越大，遇到的风险和挑战就会越多。没

有一个巩固的国防,没有一支强大的军队,中华民族伟大复兴就没有安全保障。**从国际战略形势和国家安全环境发展变化的角度看**,当前国际形势保持总体和平、缓和的基本态势,但霸权主义、强权政治和新干涉主义有所上升,世界依然面临现实和潜在的战争威胁;亚太地区成为国际战略博弈的新焦点,我国周边特别是海上方向安全面临的现实威胁呈上升趋势,我周边安全变数增加;我正处于由大向强发展的关键阶段,美西方国家对我防范和遏制力度不断加大。**从我军建设面临新形势新问题的角度看**,随着国内外形势深刻变化,我军建设日益面临一些突出矛盾和问题。首先是意识形态领域复杂斗争对发扬我军优良传统提出新挑战。敌对势力极力鼓吹"军队非党化、非政治化"和"军队国家化",妄图改变党对军队的绝对领导,推翻中国共产党的领导。这些杂音早在上世纪 90 年代苏东剧变后就曾出现,后来在我军现代化建设进程中一直阴魂不散。所以,习近平明确提出军队要"听党指挥"。其次是现代化战争对我军作战能力提出新要求。当前周边领土主权争端日益凸显,特别是东海、南海争端持续发酵,家门口生乱生战的可能性增大,但我军正处于机械化建设尚未完全完成、信息化建设正在加速发展阶段,现代化作战能力不足。习主席明确提出军队长期存在"两个差距"、"两个不够",要求把提高能打仗打胜仗能力作为军队建设的核心要求。我们不惹事、不怕事,但出了事情不能吃亏,如何做到不吃亏,就是要"能打胜仗"。第三是社会上不良风气对我军作风形成新威胁。军队不是一个与世隔绝的天地,近年来社会上错误思潮和腐朽思想文化对部队官兵的负面影响不断增大,腐败毒瘤侵蚀军队的情况不容忽视。所以,习主席明确将"作风优良"作为强军目标的重要要求。

结语:五位领导人的重要题词指示既一以贯之,又不断创新发展

建设强大的人民军队是我们党的不懈追求,党的五位领导人总是根据形势任务变化,在继承优良传统同时,及时提出明确目标要求,引

领我军建设不断向前发展。虽然由于时代背景不同，他们的阐述、表态甚至重点有所不同，但核心思想是一致的，包含内容是发展的。习主席的重要指示就是对毛泽东、邓小平、江泽民和胡锦涛军队建设指导思想的继承和发展，既符合党的几代领导人一贯的建军指导思想和要求，也反映了习主席领导我党我军在当前国内外新形势下的新要求，是党的军事指导理论与时俱进的最新成果。**一是抓住根本，坚持听党指挥不动摇**。听党指挥是灵魂，决定军队建设的政治方向。毛泽东提出的“坚定正确的政治方向”，邓小平提出“三化”中的“革命军队”，江泽民提出的“政治合格”，胡锦涛提出的“忠诚于党”，都是强调我们必须坚持党对军队绝对领导的根本原则不动摇。习主席提出的“听党指挥”是对前四位领导人建军思想的最重要继承，无论形势如何变化，这个根本不能丢。**二是盯准目标，向能打胜仗聚焦用力**。习主席提出的“能打胜仗”，反映军队的根本职能和军队建设的根本指向。军队首先是一个战斗队，是为打仗而存在的，能打仗打胜仗是强军之要。毛泽东、邓小平、江泽民、胡锦涛分别提出“灵活机动的战略战术”、军队“现代化”、“军事过硬”和“献身使命”，强调的都是加强战斗力这一强军要义。**三是夯实基础，把从严治军一以贯之。**习主席提出的“作风优良”，关系到军队的性质、宗旨、本色。我军从建军之初到发展壮大，时刻把军队的正规化建设作为治军兴军的重要内容。毛泽东要求保持“艰苦朴素的工作作风”，并制订“三大纪律、八项注意”规定；邓小平大力整顿军队内部“肿、散、骄、奢、惰”等问题，提出“正规化”要求；江泽民要求部队“作风优良”；胡锦涛要求部队“崇尚荣誉”，强调的都是加强部队作风建设。

2014 年 9 月，习近平接见全军参谋长会议代表时提出“四个强化”（即强化号令意识，强化善谋打仗，强化作风建设，强化改革创新），在听党指挥、能打胜仗、作风优良的基础上又提出“强化改革创新”这一新思想，充分反映了时代背景及军队面临的新形势新任务。改革创新与强军目标是一以贯之的，强军目标是改革创新的出发点和落脚点。只有围绕强军目标，改革创新才能坚持正确方向，凝聚最大力量。同

时,改革创新又是实现强军目标的根本动力和必由之路。军队惟有不断改革创新,才能始终抢占先机,使弱者变强、强者更强。所以,我们要科学把握强军目标与改革创新的关系,以强军目标牵引改革创新,以改革创新实现强军目标。

总之,我们要全面准确地理解五位领导人的重要题词指示,既要了解其中的一致性,又要了解所处不同的国内外形势背景,还要了解其中不同的重点和特点,要创新地去贯彻执行,在国防和军队建设改革发展中作出新的贡献。

铭记历史　坚守正义　维护和平*
——纪念《波茨坦公告》发表70周年

今年是中国人民抗日战争暨世界反法西斯战争胜利70周年，对世界上所有爱好和平的国家和人民来说都是值得纪念的一年，对为夺取反法西斯战争胜利和抗日战争胜利付出巨大牺牲的中国人民来说同样是具有特殊意义的一年。70年前的7月26日，中国、美国、英国共同发表《波茨坦公告》，对日本军国主义发出最后通牒，对战后处置日本做出具体规定，奠定了战后国际秩序的一个重要基础。70年后的今天，再次回顾波茨坦会议这一重大历史事件，纪念发表《波茨坦公告》这一重要国际法律文件，对于铭记战争教训、守护和平成果，具有尤为重要的现实意义。

回溯往事，历史的印迹历久弥新

上世纪60年代初，我曾在德国柏林工作，多次到波茨坦参观。置身波茨坦西席林霍夫宫，漫步在波茨坦会址内院的大草坪，凝视着主会议厅的圆形会议桌，思绪又回到了当年那一个个具有非凡意义的重

* 本文系作者应“上海交大—解放论坛”之约撰写的纪念世界反法西斯战争胜利七十周年文章，发表于2015年7月25日《解放日报》。

大历史瞬间。

举世瞩目的波茨坦会议于1945年7月17日至8月2日举行。会议召开前，苏联红军攻克柏林，纳粹德国战败投降，欧洲战事已结束两月有余，但日本法西斯集团还在负隅顽抗。苏美英三大国为最终击败日本，安排战后国际格局，确定各自势力范围，决定召开波茨坦会议。这次会议的代号被定为“终点”，即表明了这一涵义。酷烈的战争过后，柏林这个大都会已是满目疮痍，近乎化为一片废墟，找一个合适场所开会都变得很困难。为此，斯大林提议在位于柏林西南约40公里的波茨坦召开三巨头会议，一方面是因为这里环境优美，位置便利，当时属于苏控区，没有遭到战火严重破坏，便于各方协调安排；另一方面也考虑到波茨坦曾是普鲁士军国主义发源地，腓特烈大帝在此建造了夏宫“桑苏西宫”（源自法语“Sans Souci”，意为“无忧无虑”，因此又称“无忧宫”），大兴兵营、扩张军力，使普鲁士一跃成为欧洲强国。在这个地方商讨终结法西斯主义问题无疑具有特殊的意味。

在当时的美、苏、英三国首脑中，美国总统罗斯福1945年4月逝世，未能亲眼看到纳粹德国的灭亡，其继任者杜鲁门国内根基和国际影响与罗斯福不可同日而语；英国首相丘吉尔虽然领导英国取得了战争胜利，但因其本人在国内大选中落败无奈中途退出会议，艾德礼临阵上位，显然无力对会议施加重要影响；只有苏联领导人斯大林亲历了“二战”全过程，并牢牢掌握着国内领导权。在斯大林的指挥下，苏联红军消灭了73%的德军和75%的德军飞机坦克，付出了牺牲2700万苏联民众的惨重代价，为世界反法西斯战争最终胜利做出了巨大贡献。特别是苏军首先将红旗插上德意志帝国议会大厦的屋顶，成为柏林的实际占领方。

召开会议的波茨坦西席林霍夫宫是一幢按英国乡村风格建造的三层别墅，原为德意志帝国末代王储和王妃的旧邸。苏军接管后在布置会场时，大处小节无不透露出鲜明的苏联色彩：会址内院的草坪被一个用天竺葵种成、直径24英尺的巨大红星花坛取代，象征苏联红军的胜利；主会议厅的圆形栎木会议桌是斯大林亲自下令、莫斯科家具

厂赶制而成的。当年我参观主会议厅时，印象颇深的是斯大林的座椅被切掉了一小块，想必是哪位人士希望能够以这种方式纪念那个具有历史意义的重要时刻，苏联和斯大林在会议上的特殊地位和影响力可见一斑。由此我还想到，为了记录那个历史瞬间，当年来自世界各地的媒体记者云集波茨坦，争相采访报道会议进程，在主会议厅外的走廊里挤满了各国记者，这其中就包括后来成为美国总统的约翰·肯尼迪。肯尼迪当时作为美国赫斯特报社驻欧洲记者全程报道了波茨坦会议，在西席林霍夫宫亲历了这一重大历史时刻。

在这次会议上，商讨对日作战问题占据着重要地位。此前的1945年2月，美、苏、英三国签署了《雅尔塔协定》，进一步确定了苏联将在欧洲战争结束二至三个月内参加同盟国对日作战。及至1945年5月欧洲战事结束，对日作战开始提上议事日程。杜鲁门在其回忆录中写道，他与斯大林在波茨坦的第一次单独会晤中明确指出“美国在对日作战中期待得到苏联的帮助”，可见美国参加波茨坦会议的重要任务之一就是争取苏联尽早对日作战。会议期间，三国军方高层也多次举行会议讨论对日作战问题。为对日本发动一次强大的政治攻势，7月24日，杜鲁门就事先起草好的一份促令日本投降的最后通牒草案（即《波茨坦公告》草案）与丘吉尔协商，双方同意邀请中国参加签署，并将草案内容通过美国驻华大使转交中方征求同意。7月26日，美方收到中方同意的答复；当晚，由中、美、英共同签署的《波茨坦公告》正式发表。8月8日晚，苏联政府发表声明，加入《波茨坦公告》签署，宣布对日作战。由此，世界反法西斯战线展开了对日本军国主义的最后一击。

重温条款，《公告》的内容彰显正义

《波茨坦公告》是世界反法西斯战争的重要成果之一，其全称是《中美英促令日本投降之波茨坦公告》，全文共13条，表明了盟国发表该文件的首要目的就是迫日投降，反映了世界各国人民尽早结束战争的强烈愿望。

其一，《公告》严正指出了日本所发动战争的侵略性质。《公告》第六条指出，“欺骗及错误领导日本人民使其妄欲征服世界者之威权及势力，必须永久剔除。盖吾人坚持非将负责之穷兵黩武主义驱出世界，则和平安全及正义之新秩序势不可能”。这一条款判明了日本发动战争的最终目的是征服世界，其性质是穷兵黩武的侵略战争。作为当时对日参战国的主要代表，中、美、英三国之所以用国际法律文件形式对日本发动的战争作出明确定性，就是为了郑重昭告世界：日本军国主义是非正义力量，“必须永久剔除”；其战争行径是野蛮的、赤裸裸的侵略，与“和平安全及正义之新秩序”毫不相容。无论是“大东亚新秩序”还是“大东亚共荣圈”，都无法掩盖日本对有关国家进行殖民统治、资源掠夺的本质目的，更无法改变日本对各国大肆侵略、残暴践踏的历史事实。今年 5 月，安倍在日本国会党首辩论中竟以未读过条款为由，拒绝承认《波茨坦公告》对日本侵略战争的定性。历史不会因时代变迁而改变，事实也不会因巧舌抵赖而消失。从“九·一八”事变占领中国东北到“七七”卢沟桥事变发动全面侵华战争，从发动太平洋战争到把侵略战火烧向 10 余个亚太国家，日本侵略战争持续达 14 年之久。中国是抗日战争的主战场，中国军民为抗日战争付出了伤亡 3500 万人的巨大民族牺牲。日本军国主义侵略的血迹斑斑的罪行，不容否定、不容篡改。

其二，《公告》表明了彻底击败日本的意志和决心。《公告》第二条指出，“美国、英帝国及中国之庞大陆、海、空部队，业已增强多倍，其由西方调来之军队及空军，即将予日本以最后之打击，彼等之武力受所有联合国之决心之支持及鼓励，对日作战，不至其停止抵抗不止。”1945 年，盟军已在亚洲和太平洋战场转入全面反攻，战线迫近日本国土，日军陷入走投无路、困兽犹斗的困境。在中国战场，中国抗日力量牵制了日军近 40 个师团、140 多万人，占日本总兵力的近三分之二；在太平洋战场，美军已推进至硫黄岛、冲绳一线，并频频对日境内城市实施空袭；在东南亚战场，盟军总兵力达到约 150 万人，对驻缅甸主力日军形成包围，迫其难以机动。《公告》发表后，各国在军事上迅速响应：

苏联对日宣战后，8月9日百万苏军出兵中国东北和朝鲜北部，对日本关东军发动全面进攻；同日，毛泽东主席发表《对日寇的最后一战》，各解放区武装力量向日军展开全线总反攻；8月6日和9日，美国分别向日本广岛和长崎投放原子弹。可见，《公告》的发表促使盟国迅速对日发起总攻，对尽早结束第二次世界大战发挥了重要作用。

其三，《公告》要求日本立即无条件投降。《公告》第十三条指出，“吾人通告日本政府立即宣布所有日本武装部队无条件投降，并以此种行动诚意实行予以适当之各项保证，除此一途，日本即将迅速完全毁灭。”对于这一促令日本立即无条件投降的公告，日本政府起初予以拒绝，并三次扩军动员，准备进行本土决战。但在世界反法西斯力量的合力打击下，日本军国主义别无选择。1945年8月14日，日本政府照会美、英、苏、中四国政府，宣布接受《波茨坦公告》；8月15日，天皇裕仁以广播《停战诏书》的形式，正式宣布日本无条件投降；8月17日，天皇裕仁向日军发布和平投降敕令，远东、南亚、太平洋诸岛的330多万日军开始陆续向盟国投降；9月2日，在东京湾内的美国“密苏里”号战列舰上，日本外相重光葵代表日本天皇和日本政府、参谋总长梅津美治郎代表日军大本营，在投降书上签字并宣示“承担忠诚履行《波茨坦公告》各项规定之义务”。投降书的签署，正式宣告了日本军国主义的彻底失败和世界反法西斯战争的最后胜利。

其四，《公告》界定了日本战后的领土范围。《公告》第八条明确指出，“开罗宣言之条件必将实施，而日本之主权必将限于本州、北海道、九州、四国及吾人所决定其他小岛之内”。此条款再次确认了《开罗宣言》的合法性和权威性，明确划定了日本的领土范围。1943年12月1日中美英三国共同发表的《开罗宣言》规定，“剥夺日本自从1914年第一次世界大战开始后在太平洋上所夺得或占领之一切岛屿；日本所窃取于中国之领土，例如东北四省、台湾、澎湖群岛等，归还中华民国；其他日本以武力或贪欲所攫取之土地，亦务将日本驱逐出境。”两份国际法文件均明确要求，终结日本对“所窃取于中国之领土”的非法占有，既包括明文提及的中国东北、台湾岛和澎湖群岛，也包括日本1895年

窃取的钓鱼岛等，以及"二战"期间非法占领的西沙和南沙群岛，这些领土必须依法归还中国。

其五，《公告》提出战后追惩日本战犯并建立和平政府。《公告》第十条、十二条分别指出，"吾人无意奴役日本民族或消灭其国家，但对于战罪人犯，包括虐待吾人俘虏在内，将处以法律之裁判，日本政府必将阻止日本人民民主趋势之复兴及增强之所有障碍予以消除，言论、宗教及思想自由以及对于基本人权之重视必须成立"，"上述目的达到及依据日本人民自由表示之意志成立一倾向和平及负责之政府后，同盟国占领军队当撤退"。依据此条款，战后远东国际军事法庭成立，着手审判日本战犯，东条英机、板垣征四郎、土肥原贤二等 7 名甲级战犯被处以绞刑。同时，开始制订并颁布实施日本新宪法即"和平宪法"，其第 9 条规定："日本国民谋求基于正义与秩序的国际和平，永远放弃以国权发动的战争、武力威胁或武力行使作为解决国际争端的手段；为达到前款之目的，不保持陆海空军及其他战争力量；不承认国家交战权。"该条款事实上剥夺了日本军国主义赖以生存的法律依据，遏制了日本右翼势力重新武装的野心，确立了战后日本追求和平的政治体制。

抚今追昔，《公告》的精神不容篡改

《波茨坦公告》是用几千万生命换来的胜利果实，也是"二战"后世界和平秩序的重要保证。"二战"结束以来的 70 年，世事沧海桑田，国际风云变幻，但包括《波茨坦公告》在内的世界反法西斯战争胜利重要成果至今依然值得倍加珍视、精心守护。

应当牢记，《波茨坦公告》奠定的战后国际秩序不容挑战和颠覆。"二战"结束后，以《开罗宣言》和《波茨坦公告》等为法律基础、以联合国为权威机构的国际秩序，让世界总体和平成为现实。遵守《波茨坦公告》规定，是日本政府对国际社会作出的正式承诺。日本前首相村山富市曾指出："日本正是因为接受了《波茨坦公告》、《开罗宣言》以及

东京审判的判决，才得以重返国际社会。”然而，作为“二战”战败国，日本至今对战争历史的认识和教育仍存在明显偏差、在反省战争罪行上态度暧昧。安倍晋三再次出任日本首相以来，加快修宪扩军步伐、解禁集体自卫权、突破武器出口三原则，力图摆脱战后体制束缚，这不仅是对历史真相和公理正义的公然藐视，更是对战后国际秩序的蓄意破坏。在日本右翼势力眼里，基于《波茨坦公告》等文件建立的战后国际秩序是以压制日本为基础建立的，只有打破这一秩序，日本才能成为所谓“正常国家”。面对日本右翼分子一系列挑战战后国际和平秩序的行径，面对任何企图歪曲美化日本军国主义侵略历史的言行，中国人民和亚洲受害国人民不答应，有正义和良知的日本人民也不会答应。历史渐行渐远，人们对战争的反思从未停止，永不停止。时至今日，法西斯主义的幽灵并未销声匿迹，颠覆战后国际秩序的野心并未完全遏制，必须保持高度警惕，正义与邪恶决不容混淆，历史悲剧决不允许重演。

应当牢记，《波茨坦公告》明确了台湾是中国领土神圣不可分割的一部分。1945 年 10 月 25 日，作为战胜国的中国政府执行《开罗宣言》和《波茨坦公告》，在台北接受日本投降，宣告“自即日起，台湾及澎湖列岛已正式重入中国版图，所有一切土地、人民、政事皆已置于中国主权之下。”至此台湾摆脱长达半个世纪的殖民统治，重回祖国怀抱。尽管当前台湾同大陆尚未统一，但台湾和大陆同属一个国家的事实从未改变，两岸同胞同根同源、同文同种的事实从未改变，也不可能改变。两岸关系风风雨雨几十年，总体趋势是向前发展的，这是历史的必然。进入新世纪以来，国共两党冲破历史樊篱，实现和解，共商维护台海和平之道；两岸同胞携手共同努力，开辟了两岸关系和平发展的光明前景，给两岸同胞带来了实实在在的好处。两岸贸易额由 10 年前的 912.3 亿美元增至 2014 年的 1983.1 亿美元，两岸人员往来总数由 10 年前的 426.9 万人次增至 2014 年的 941.1 万人次。但与此同时，影响台海局势稳定的根源并未消除，“台独”势力竭力煽动两岸对立，阻挠破坏两岸交流合作，企图挑起两岸民众和社会对立、割断两岸同胞精

神纽带。历史已经并将继续证明,“台独”是一条走不通的死路。我们纪念《波茨坦公告》,就是要精心维护两岸关系和平发展来之不易的成果。正如今年5月习近平总书记在会见国民党主席朱立伦时所强调的,我们要坚持走两岸关系和平发展道路,坚持“九二共识”、反对“台独”的政治基础,坚持开展两岸协商谈判、推进各领域交流合作,坚持为两岸民众谋福祉,携手建设两岸命运共同体,努力开创两岸关系新未来。

应当牢记,《波茨坦公告》重申了中国对东海钓鱼岛和南海岛礁拥有主权。无论从地理位置还是历史管辖实践看,钓鱼岛一直是中国台湾岛的附属岛屿,西沙、南沙群岛自古以来就是中国领土,我对东海钓鱼岛和南海诸岛拥有无可争辩的主权。“二战”期间,《开罗宣言》和《波茨坦公告》明确规定,日本应归还窃取于中国之领土,其中当然包括日本侵占的东海钓鱼岛和南海诸岛,这也是日本政府在投降书中承诺的义务。战后,中国政府收回了西沙和南沙群岛的主权。1972年中日邦交正常化,《中日联合声明》签署,其中白纸黑字写着“日方将坚持遵循《波茨坦公告》第八条的立场”,这些都是一清二楚的历史事实。然而近年来,日本右翼和军国主义势力沉渣泛起,从日政要参拜靖国神社到非法“购岛”实施所谓“国有化”,从篡改教科书到为强征“慰安妇”进行辩解,种种倒行逆施不仅罔顾历史事实,更是对世界反法西斯战争胜利成果的公然否定,是对战后国际秩序的直接挑战,不仅中国人民不能答应,世界各国爱好和平的正义力量都不能接受。在南海问题上,个别东南亚国家置中方克制、冷静和建设性的态度于不顾,非法侵占中国南海岛礁,甚至倒打一耙把所谓岛礁争端诉诸国际法庭,这些颠倒黑白的做法,无益于南海问题的和平解决。

应当牢记,《波茨坦公告》指明了中国与相关国家关系发展的重要前提。“二战”期间,中美两国曾并肩战斗、浴血奋战,为世界反法西斯战争的伟大胜利作出了巨大贡献。新形势下,中美两国元首就构建“不冲突不对抗,相互尊重,合作共赢”的新型大国关系达成重要共识,中美关系站在了新的起点上。今年9月,习近平主席将应邀对美国进

行国事访问，必将为推进中美新型大国关系建设注入新的动力。中日邦交正常化40多年来，两国各领域合作深度和广度已经达到前所未有的水平，有力促进了中日两国经济社会发展。但同时，我们也遗憾地看到，中美关系、中日关系平稳发展还面临着一些干扰因素。“冷战”期间美日通过“归还冲绳协定”擅自把钓鱼岛私相授受，近来又强调《美日安保条约》适用于钓鱼岛；日本政府公然搬弄是非、混淆视听，从否认侵略罪行和殖民历史、篡改历史教科书，到参拜“二战”战犯亡灵、为军国主义者扬幡招魂，再到架空和平宪法、为介入地区争端松绑。这些做法不仅与《开罗宣言》和《波茨坦公告》的精神背道而驰，而且与国际关系基本准则不相符合，将给亚洲乃至世界的和平与稳定带来挑战。

2014年3月，习近平主席到访德国时引用了前德国总理勃兰特的一句名言：“谁忘记历史，谁就会在灵魂上生病。”历史就是历史，事实不容篡改，真相不容歪曲；法律就是法律，《波茨坦公告》等国际法文件的内容不容否定，精神不容践踏。无论是历史功绩还是历史教训，都理应成为世界各国的共同记忆。历史告诉我们，重蹈覆辙都是从忘却开始的。同时，历史直通现实又指向未来。坚持正确的历史观，就是要正视历史，不忘历史，以史为鉴，开辟未来。新的时代背景下，中国将与世界上一切爱好和平的国家和人民一道，高举《波茨坦公告》的正义旗帜，坚持和平发展，促进合作共赢，让《波茨坦公告》和其他反法西斯战争胜利成果一起永载史册，永放光芒！

International Relations and National Security

Xiong Guangkai

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Section One

International Relations and China's Diplomacy

Comprehensive Change, Comprehensive Adjustment, and Comprehensive Diplomacy*

——One way to perceive and assess the year of 2006 and the subsequent international situation and international relations, and China's diplomatic approach

The year of 2006 is highlighted by the launch of the 11th Five-Year Plan period. The need to seize a vital strategic opportunity for China's development and hold on to it, in order to effectuate our high-speed development, demands a constant effort in modeling a friendly external milieu. The foreign affairs conference held in August 2006 by the Central Committee of the Communist Party of China conducted a comprehensive analysis of the new trends and features of development, and the changes in the international situation from the perspective of the overall situation and strategy,, stated the importance and urgency of performing to the best of our abilities in foreign affairs in the new century and on the new stage, and further refined the guiding thinking, the basic principles, the overall requirements, and the major tasks of foreign affairs. This is of fundamental guiding importance for us in our study of the current

* This is a keynote speech delivered at the Annual Symposium of China Institute for International Strategic Studies on December 29, 2006.

and the coming period in the international situation and international relations, and in doing a more effective job in foreign affairs. The foreign affairs conference held by the CPC Central Committee stated: "**Peace and development remain the themes of the era; the trend of polarization and globalization of the world is making sporadic progress; the requirements to safeguard peace and contain war are constant and increasing, and for that matter, the objective of striving for a longer period of peace in the international environment and a favorable periphery is attainable. At the same time, the world is going through a period of comprehensive change and comprehensive adjustment, and the international situation is still undergoing constant, profound and complicated changes.**"

The terms of "comprehensive change" and "comprehensive adjustment" are the keys to China's assessment of the current international situation and international relations. Judging on these criteria, the foreign affairs conference held by the Party Central Committee came up with the call for continuing to be effective in foreign affairs under the new situation by way of "**giving full play to the principal diplomatic channel of the government while strengthening and improving the work of exchanges and contacts with foreign countries undertaken by the Party, the National People's Congress, the Chinese People's Political Consultative Conference, the armed forces, and local government and the nongovernmental organizations, thus developing a concerted effort in making its diplomacy effective.**"

This in fact has brought the idea of promoting "comprehensive diplomacy" to the heart of our foreign affairs. To sum up: in the current and coming period the international landscape is witnessing comprehensive changes, international relations are experiencing a comprehensive adjustment, and China is making comprehensive

diplomacy the core of its foreign affairs. Therefore, the concept of "comprehensive change, comprehensive adjustment, and comprehensive diplomacy" is not only illustrative of the situation and of our work over the recent past and including 2006, but also holds true when looking forward towards the coming years. In brief, **the year of 2006 saw a more profound comprehensive change in the international situation and a more readily apparent comprehensive adjustment in international relations, and more and greater successes achieved by China's comprehensive and energetic diplomacy.**

Comprehensive Changes in the International Situation

The foreign affairs conference held by the Party Central Committee gave a comprehensive and in-depth interpretation of the changes in the current international situation, which was summarized in five issues of headway and five issues of complexity: **"at present, the trend of world multipolarization continues to make headway, and yet the tussle between unipolarization and multipolarization remains deeply complicated; that the trend of economic globalization continues to make headway, and yet international economic competition remains deeply complicated, that exchange of civilizations continues to make headway, and yet rivalry in the international ideological and cultural domain remains deeply complicated, that the tendency towards overall stability in the international strategic security situation continues to make headway, and yet the security challenges that mankind must confront remain deeply complicated; that international coordination and cooperation continue to make headway, and yet disputes over international order remain deeply complicated."**

This deft exposition covers five areas—international politics,

the economy, culture, security, and the international order. Comprehensive changes are readily apparent in all these fields; they are all interlinked and affect each other. The changes in the international security situation stand out in the international landscape, and yet they are intertwined with and interact with the changes in the fields of international politics, the economy, culture, and the international order. In addition, they are closely connected to international multipolarization, economic globalization, exchanges among different cultures and international coordination and cooperation. A review of the international security situation in 2006 will offer an insight into the comprehensive changes under way. Overall, the international security situation has eased and remains stable, with peace and development being the themes of the present times. However, there are regrettable local tensions, turmoil, and sporadic flashpoints. In addition, insecurity and uncertainty are on the rise, saliently manifested in the blending of traditional and nontraditional security threats, and in the mounting diversity of international security threats.

Firstly, nontraditional security threats are on a constant rise. Recent years have been marked by an upsurge in nontraditional security threats as exemplified by terrorism, and 2006 was no exception. From this perspective, **terrorists and the forces of antiterrorism are still locked in a fierce struggle.** In the wake of 9/11, the international war on terrorism has achieved a measure of success—the prominent al Qaeda leader al-Zarqawi and the Chechnya bandit leader Saydullayev were among those to be eliminated in 2006. But international terrorism continues to flourish. Statistics suggest that worldwide terrorist incidents have increased by an average of about 20% over the last five years, resulting in some 12,200 deaths and a further

31,100 injuries. The year of 2006 (as at the end of November) saw 593 terrorist attacks around the world, taking a toll of more than 4,500 lives and wounding more than 9,700 people. These represented increases of 65%, 55% and 35% respectively against the same period in 2005.

The issue of energy security remained prominent. The oil price on the international market oscillates at a high level. July 14 2006 saw the future price of oil on the New York market soaring to the historical record high of $78.40/barrel, nearly three times the annual average price of $28.15/barrel in 2003. Despite a subsequent fall, the oil price still remained at a high of about $60/barrel. All this contributed to a sharpening trend of strategic rivalry focusing on the major sources of energy and the energy transportation passageways.

The issue of public health security continues to attract broad worldwide concern, with epidemics such as avian flu in particular putting the world on high alert. According to updated data made available by the WHO on November 29, 2006, there had been 111 cases of avian flu around the world, of which 76 proved fatal, showing year-on-year increases of 14% and 81% respectively against 2005.

Secondly, traditional security issues remain in the spotlight. Internationally, **the numbers of local wars and armed conflicts remain high.** Statistics indicate that 197 local wars and armed conflicts took place worldwide in the time span from 1945 to 1989, averaging 4.5 new outbreaks per year. During the 16 years from 1990 to 2005, there were 203 local wars and armed conflicts worldwide, an average of more than 12 new outbreaks per year, dwarfing the average reached during the Cold War period by a significant margin. The year of 2006 set a record of 44 local wars and armed conflicts, combining

both ongoing conflicts and new outbreaks, an increase of five cases over 2005 and another "peak year" since the end of Cold War. Of these, 14 were new outbreaks, equaling 2005.

The fight between proliferation and nonproliferation is sharpening. In 2006 North Korea conducted a missile test in July and a nuclear test in October, further complicating the DPRK nuclear issue. Thanks to the concerted efforts of all parties concerned, including China, the six-party talks eventually resumed in Beijing, continuing from December 18 to December 22. However, developments in comparable situations are still subject to fairly high uncertainty. Mirroring this issue is the Iran nuclear issue, which remains in a stalemate. The U.S., Europe and Iran have allowed for some leeway to redress the situation, but defusing the conflict will be no easy matter. The nuclear issues in the DPRK and Iran are placing serious strain on the international nuclear nonproliferation mechanism.

On the part of China, **the biggest and immediate threat to China's national security at present and in the coming period of time still lies in the secessionist forces of "Taiwan independence."** On the positive side, China has achieved new progress in handling the Taiwan problem. On the negative side, Chen Shuibian pressed ahead with the suspension of the "National Unification Council" and the "national unification program" in the face of strong opposition from inside and outside of the Island, taking a long step forward on the road of "Taiwan legal independence." As a follow-up, he stepped up the process of "rewriting the constitution", stating on many occasions his intention to enact a "new constitution", to establish a "second republic", and to join the UN under the name of "Taiwan." All of this makes quite clear his separatist stance and his stubborn belief in "Taiwan independence." While showing our utmost sincerity and

devoting our best efforts to safeguard and promote peaceful and stable development of the cross-Strait relationship and to strive for peaceful reunification, we remain firmly opposed to "Taiwan independence" and will never allow any force to secede Taiwan from its motherland by any means and in whatever manner.

Comprehensive Adjustment in International Relations

Currently, both bilateral and multilateral relations are going through a new round of comprehensive adjustment that is sweeping every region and the world as a whole. As a result, a trend towards multipolarization continues to make erratic progress.

The year of 2006 was marked by a pronounced adjustment in multilateral relations. Global multilateral relations are still undergoing profound changes with the UN at the center. The result is that the UN's authority has been substantially reinforced. The UN Security Council adopted 78 resolutions in 2006 (figure as of December 15), the highest number in any year for a decade and more. Common ground among the member states of the Security Council—and the P5 in particular—has expanded on major flashpoints such as the DPRK nuclear issue and the Iran nuclear issue, and coordination between them in the course of adopting resolutions has similarly improved. In addition, UN reform has achieved a certain degree of success, and the Human Rights Council has come into being, followed by the Peacebuilding Commission. And yet wrangling continues among all the parties concerned over the issue of increasing the number of permanent members of the UN Security Council. Ban Ki Moon from South Korea was successful in being elected the new Secretary General of the UN—the second Asian to be voted into this office

after a long interval of 35 years—which is of great significance.

The process of regional multilateral relations driven primarily by regional cooperation is moving forward. As economic globalization increases, the trend of regionalization is surging forward with vigor, in response to the double-edged effect brought about by globalization. This, on the one hand, acts as a spinoff and an important supplement to globalization; on the other acts as a vital tool to mitigate the negative effects of globalization, and to take advantage of the positives while avoiding the negatives. Regionalization and globalization are interlinked and are supplementary to each other. In 2006 the EU, ASEAN and the AU made fresh efforts to further internal integration, while the Shanghai Cooperation Organization (SCO), APEC, and the Asia Europe Conference made fresh headway in terms of inter-organizational cooperation. Various regional organizations throughout the world held around 40 summit meetings in 2006, a level of activity rarely witnessed in recent years. With regard to multilateral relations China's diplomacy adapted to the evolving situation, resulting in such successful major events as the SCO summit, the China-ASEAN commemoration summit and the Beijing Summit of the China-Africa Cooperation Forum.

Bilateral relations, and major country relations in particular, experienced significant developments in 2006. To China, the year of 2006 was marked as a year of great success in multilateral diplomacy and in bilateral relations, including relations with other major countries.

First, new progress was achieved in building a constructive and cooperative China-US relationship. Ever since China's former President Jiang Zemin and U. S. President George Bush reached a consensus in October 2001 to develop a constructive and cooperative

relationship between China and the U.S., the China-US relationship has been on the whole stable and made steady progress. The relationship was blessed with further success in 2006: China's President Hu Jintao made a successful visit to the U.S. in April 2006, met President Bush three times, and had five telephone exchanges with him. This resulted in an agreement that China and the U.S. are not only stakeholders but also constructive cooperative partners. Economic and trade cooperation grew and the strategic economic dialogue mechanism was set in motion. Military exchanges made new headway, highlighted by a joint maritime search and rescue exercise.

Second, the China-Russia strategic and coordination partnership grew much stronger. China-Russia relations have made constant progress ever since China's former President Jiang Zemin and the former Russian President Boris Yeltsin made the decision in April 1996 to establish "a strategic partnership of equality and mutual trust looking forward to the 21st century." In March 2006 Russian President Vladimir Putin came to China to attend the opening ceremony of "The Year of Russia", followed by his second trip to China in June of the same year to attend the SCO Summit Meeting. In exchange, President Hu Jintao flew to Russia in July to take part in the dialogue between the leaders of the Group of Eight (G8) and the developing countries, during which visit the two presidents held separate talks. In all, President Hu and President Putin met five times in 2006. The two states have reached a new level in terms of mutual political trust, economic and trade cooperation, military exchanges, people to people exchanges, and cooperation in the international field. China's success in sponsoring the "Year of Russia", including eight national-level events and 207 other programs covering sectors such as politics, economy and trade,

culture, education, public health, sports, media, science and technology, military and local cooperation, eclipsed any previous activities in scale and in content.

Comprehensive Diplomacy in Foreign Affairs

The strategic background against which comprehensive change in the current international situation and comprehensive adjustment in international relations are taking place provides China with a major opportunity to shape a favorable external environment, and likewise poses fresh challenges. To match this development, a new focus on "comprehensive diplomacy" is required. This requires us to realize the objectives put forth during the foreign affairs conference held by the CPC Central Committee using the government as the main diplomatic channel and other channels in support: "**energetically shaping a peaceful and stable international environment, a peripheral environment with amicable and friendly neighbors, a cooperative environment featuring equality and mutual benefit, a security environment of mutual trust and coordination, and an environment of objective and friendly public opinion.**" Thanks to our dynamic efforts in 2006, laudable progress was secured in pursuit of the above.

The first is to pursue peaceful development and shape a peaceful and stable international environment. As the biggest developing country, China adheres to the path of peaceful development: seeking self-development by maintaining world peace, and promoting world peace by achieving development. To be more specific:

Being active in fulfilling its obligations and responsibilities as a permanent member of the UN Security Council:

- pressing forward with UN reform, and taking into account the reasonable rights and interests of the developing countries while doing so;
- being active in diplomatic mediations pursuing solutions to flashpoint issues, as represented by the vital role played by China in winning approval for the resolution on the DPRK nuclear issue in the UN Security Council expressing strong opposition to the DPRK's nuclear test and in the meantime avoiding imposing comprehensive sanctions on or resorting to force against DPRK;
- honoring its financial obligations by paying its membership dues in full, on time, and without preconditions, although its membership dues have increased from the original 0.995% to the present 2.053%, and will further rise to 2.67% between 2007 and 2009, placing China ninth among UN members and first among developing countries.

Being earnest in taking part in UN peacekeeping operations.

- By the end of November 2006, Chinese forces had been involved in 16 UN peacekeeping operations involving 5,915 military personnel, making China the biggest contributor among the five permanent members of the UN Security Council. At the request of the UN, China sent 617 peacekeeping troops and 31 military observers and staff officers to the missions in Lebanon and Sudan in 2006, winning favorable international reaction.

Provide as much international aid as China's capacity allows. As of September 2006, China had provided 49 of the least developed nations with 1,701 payments of aid or aid funds, and had written off 172 debts owed to China by 36 of the least developed nations.

The second is to promote dialogueand cooperation and engage actively in the creation of a peripheral environment with amicable and friendly neighbors. China has maintained a peripheral foreign policy of "making friends and making peace with neighbors", and for that reason has focused increasingly on bilateral and regional cooperation. These efforts have been answered with encouraging payoffs:

a) **Relations between China and ASEAN are at their best ever.** In October 2006 China held a successful summit to celebrate the 15th anniversary of the relationship of dialogue between China and ASEAN. Since that relationship began, China and ASEAN have achieved significant progress in building a strategic partnership orientated towards peace and prosperity, building a stronger, deeper, and more robust relationship.

b) **The relations between China and Central Asia are strengthening incrementally.** A closer bilateral relationship is growing between China and the Central Asian countries. China's success in hosting the SCO summit meeting in June 2006 in particular has further boosted friendly and cooperative relations between China and the Central Asian states within the framework of SCO.

c) **Deeper and broader relations are growing between China and the South Asian states.** President Hu's successful visits to India and Pakistan in late November 2006 resulted in an important consensus with India on developing the China-India strategic partnership, and jointly affirming with Pakistan that all weather friendship and all round cooperation are the key features of the China-Pakistan relationship.

The third is to uphold cooperation and win-win for all and to work towards a cooperative environment featuring equality and mutual benefit. China believes in taking an active part in international

economic cooperation and competition, and proper handling of economic and trade frictions on the basis of equality and mutual benefit, and free of any political strings.

- **Foreign trade has grown without precedent.** Each of the five years following China's accession to the WTO saw an increase in excess of 20% in China's foreign trade. In the year of 2006, China maintained its rapid growth rate in the value of trade with the major economies like Europe, the U.S. and Japan. By the end of November 2006, the gross value of China's foreign trade hit nearly $1.6 trillion, a 24.3% increase against the same period of 2005.
- **Economic and foreign trade disputes have been properly managed.** China has kept to the policy of mutual benefit and win win for all, following the rules of the WTO and other relevant international practices in its economic and foreign trade relations with other countries and in disputes over foreign trade involving China. With regard to the reform of the exchange rate of the RMB and the protection of intellectual property rights and other issues, China has adopted a responsible approach and implemented appropriate measures.

The fourth is to uphold common securityand foster a security milieu of mutual trust and coordination. China favors a new security concept of mutual trust, mutual benefit, equality and coordination, boosting mutual trust through dialogue, resolving disputes by way of consultation, and seeking stability by virtue of cooperation.

- **In terms of nonproliferation**, China takes a responsible approach to exercising its unique position and influence, and for that matter, has played a significant role in seeking proper solutions to the DPRK nuclear issue and the Iran

nuclear issue through diplomacy. China's efforts to reinstate the Six-Party Talks in particular have been significant in upholding the international nonproliferation system.

- **In respect of international cooperation on counterterrorism**, China has done its utmost by taking part in the joint counterterrorism exercise in March 2006 within the framework of SCO, and held further joint counterterrorism exercises with Kazakhstan in August, with Tajikistan in September and with Pakistan in December.
- **On the energy security cooperation issue**, the Chinese government has supported the new energy security concept of "mutual benefit, cooperation, multiple development and coordinative assurance", and has been energetic in promoting dialogue and cooperation in international energy security.
- **In the field of public health security and cooperation**, China has by and large put in place a mechanism for timely reporting of epidemics such as avian flu. In addition, the Chinese government also threw its full weight entirely behind Ms Margaret Chan in her successful effort of winning the election of the candidacy as Director-General of WHO, which is a display of China's active approach in promoting the development of the public health work in the world.

The fifth is to build up mutual trust and eliminate misunderstandings so as to create an objective and friendly environment of public opinion. The Chinese government attaches great importance to public opinion, and reach out to the outside world by making full use of various channels, both governmental and nongovernmental, and by tapping multiple media such as radio, TV, and the internet. China is also vigorously promoting cultural exchanges with other

countries. In the past year, the Information Office of the State Council held more than 50 news conferences, inviting scores of ministers and directors general to brief the media about China's policies and to release information. China has also published "China's Space Activities in 2006" and "China's National Defense in 2006." As of the end of 2006, China had set up 123 Confucius Institutes in 49 countries or regions. Channels 4 and 9 as well as the Spanish-French channel of China Central Television have gained a firm footing overseas with 65 million subscribers. At present, the international media environment faced by China is going through momentous changes with more and more reports by the media in various states devoted to stories about China and the proportion of positive reports about China decidedly increased. 2006 was a year that witnessed constant changes in the international landscape and in international relations, and also a year in which China engaged in a general and successful program of dynamic diplomacy. In reviewing past and looking into the future, we have arrived at a deeper understanding that this foreign affairs conference held by the Party Central Committee is a major strategic move made by the Central Committee of the CPC to strengthen and improve our diplomatic work, hence an extremely important and timely conference. It is a must for us to study, comprehend and implement in depth the spirit of the foreign affairs conference, make overall plans for the general domestic and international situations, stick to the road of peaceful development, and work without fail to make our country more prosperous and powerful, and to ensure our people's happiness and well-being, and the peace and development of the world.

From "Peaceful Coexistence" to "Peaceful Development" to "Peaceful Development and Win-win Cooperation"*

An accurate understanding of current U. S.-China relations requires a focus on the historical development of China's international strategy since the founding ofthe People's Republic in 1949 and a clear perspective on the historical position of the U.S.-China relations. It is appropriate to say that the current U.S.-China relations are now in transition from post-Cold War period to after-Cold War period. We certainly cannot claim that the current U.S.-China relations have fully entered the after-Cold War period, because the Cold War mentality has not been eradicated. However, it is because of this that we should make concerted efforts to build a new U.S.-China relationship.

As early as in 2012, when he was the Vice President, Xi Jinping proposed the establishment of a new U.S.-China relationship. 2013 witnessed the historical summit between Xi Jinping as China's new

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* This article is a recorded conversation between the author and David M. Lampton, an American scholar, on November 1, 2014.

President and US President Obama at the Annenberg Estate, and the two leaders reached a consensus on the building of a new U.S.-China relationship. This is a very important consensus. China's interpretation of this new relationship is no conflict, no confrontation, mutual respect and win-win cooperation. Of these, no conflict and no confrontation clearly refute the Cold War pattern; the goal of mutual respect and win-win cooperation is mutual benefit, which distances itself from the zero-sum notion of the Cold War period. A new relationship among great powers must represent a definitive departure from the Cold War period.

For accurate comprehension, a new U.S.-China relationship needs to be positioned in the new international strategic landscape following the Cold War and in the context of the historical development of China's international strategy since the founding of the People's Republic.

After the founding of the People's Republic our country put forward the Five Principles of Peaceful Coexistence. Peaceful Coexistence voiced a hope that, by avoiding wars, different countries could coexist peacefully in the context of the Cold War. This goal was not a lofty one, but it was realistic and constructive for its time. China still adheres to the Five Principles and regularly cites them in the interpretation of its diplomatic policies. The principles still play such a positive role that they should not be neglected, but it should also be remembered that they were proposed against a background of severe Cold War conflict. Peaceful Coexistence was an unambitious demand, aimed at seeking basic solutions for coexistence in this context.

Following reform and opening up, Deng Xiaoping moved China's strategic thinking forward towards the idea of peaceful

development. Compared with peaceful coexistence, peaceful development is more positive and asks more, because it seeks common development on the basis of coexistence. In challenging the international order of the Cold War period, it focuses on the future and on development.

After Deng Xiaoping, Jiang Zemin, Hu Jintao and Xi Jinping have placed growing emphasis on the pursuit of beneficial cooperation based on peaceful coexistence and development, and have proposed more explicitly that all countries should walk away from Cold War thinking, abandon the zero-sum mentality typical of the Cold War period, and conduct mutually beneficial cooperation.

A new U. S.-China relationship should be understood in the context of the consistent and constant development of strategic international thought, namely, from "peaceful coexistence" to "peaceful development" to "peaceful development and win-win cooperation." It should be understood as a dynamic and ongoing process. By advocating the construction of a new U. S.-China relationship, China hopes that U. S.-China relations can meet the requirements of a new era.

How can a new relationship between the U. S. and China be built and developed? I think that great attention should be paid to the handling of the following important issues.

1. The Taiwan Issue. This is the most important issue between the U. S. and China. The construction of a new relationship between the U.S. and China must be based on the one-China policy and a rejection of Taiwan independence. The Taiwan issue must be handled according to the three Sino-US joint communiqués. No matter which party rules Taiwan, so long as it does not intend to split China, the mainland will cooperate with it. Opposition to

Taiwan independence is essential.

2. The Japan Issue. The Japan issue is a carry-over from WWⅡ. Japan was defeated in WWⅡ, so it should not deny its historical position as a defeated country. However, Japanese right-wingers have now reached the stage where they appear to want to vindicate Japan's criminal acts in WWⅡ. Japan is now seeking to counter China by amending its constitution. However, the U.S. is their "main target of attack" because it was the U.S. that drew up Japan's current constitution during its occupation of Japan.

China has made attempts to improve its relationship with Japan. For example, in the days of Chairman Mao, China waived claims over Japan. In 2006, when Shinzo Abe came to power for the first time, I visited Japan along with Zhao Qizheng and other Chinese representatives under an arrangement made by Yang Wenchang, President of the Chinese People's Institute of Foreign Affairs. Abe met with us. He knew that we had come to try to improve China-Japan relations and thaw the chill between the two countries dating from Junichiro Koizumi's administration. At that time, Abe had expressed the view that China and Japan could put aside their political disputes and focus on the development of economic ties. The two wheels of politics and economy do not have to turn together; politics could be cool while the economy was warm. However, we thought it best that the two wheels should turn together, which would be conducive to mutual coordination and development. It was also during this meeting that Abe expressed the hope that the two wheels could turn together, the first time that he ever expressedthis idea. Abe's conduct during his second term is both a result of personal factors and a reflection of Japan's further drift to the right. Before Abe took office for the second time, I met

with Shigeru Ishiba of the Japanese Liberal Democratic Party. Ishiba said that by promoting the amendment of the constitution and taking advantage of the drift to the right, Abe wanted to help the Liberal Democratic Party retain power. I immediately made clear my opposition and said that 2015 would be the seventieth anniversary of the end of WW Ⅱ, and that Japan should reflect on its political future in the context of the result of WW Ⅱ, the international order after WW Ⅱ, and American interests.

3. The Relationship between the U. S., Russia, and China. In the early period of the Cold War, the Soviet Union and China joined together to guard against the U. S. In the 1970s, the U. S. and China united to deal with the Soviet Union. At that time, relations between the U. S., the Soviet Union, and China were a typical trilateral relationship among Cold War great powers, featuring each side probing for and taking advantage of any strains in the relationship between the other two sides. How is the current relationship between the U. S., Russia, and China? In 2008, my colleagues of China Institute for International Strategic Studies and I invited some American and Russian friends to a seminar in Shanghai Jiao Tong University on the trilateral relations of the U.S., Russia, and China. At that seminar, we reached a consensus that the three countries should not seek to provoke and take advantage of conflicts between each other, but should try to build a kind of trilateral relationship conducive to the beneficial development of bilateral relations. Though the relationship between the U.S., Russia, and China is more like a "scalene triangle" than an "equilateral triangle", they should not be like the triangular relations of the Cold War.

Since then, we have held a seminar every year on the trilateral

relationship, and these have produced three fundamental research results. Firstly, while this is the most important trilateral relationship in the world, neither these three countries (G3) nor or any two of them (G2) can co-govern the world. Secondly, of the current trilateral relations, the relationship between Russia and China is the closest, followed by the relationship between the U.S. and China, and the relationship between the U.S. and Russia is the least close. Thirdly, though the relations between the U. S., Russia, and China are like a "scalene triangle", they are no longer the trilateral relations of the Cold War period. Russia and China are not allies against the U. S., and the benign development of the trilateral relations relies on the efforts of all three countries.

Properly Handle the New Changes and Maintain Overall Stability and Development in China-U. S. -Russia Trilateral Relations*

Today's world is characterized by growing ties and deepening mutual reliance between countries. Positive interactions between major powers are conducive to world peace and stability; confrontations aggravate turbulence in the international arena. In recent years, with rapid changes in the international situation and in the world order, the issue of peace and development has gained greater prominence, and calls for win-win cooperation have become ever louder. Against such a general backdrop, how to maintain overall stability in the trilateral relations between China, the U.S. and Russia is a question worthy of deep reflection by all of us. Here let me focus on three issues:

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* This article was written in April 2015 on the occasion of its eighth year of the Symposium of China-U. S. -Russia Trilateral Relations jointly held by China Institute for International Strategic Studies and Shanghai Jiao Tong University.

I. New changes and characteristics in the trilateral relations

In 2014, different modes of interaction and trends of development emerged in the three sets of bilateral relations between the U.S., Russia, and China. These have had a profound impact on the evolution of the international strategic situation and the adjustment of major power relationships, presenting new opportunities and challenges in the trilateral relations.

Conflict between the U. S. and Russia has intensified. Since the end of the Cold War, U. S.-Russia relations have generally been characterized by the coexistence of cooperation and competition, and the alternation between detente and tension. However, since the end of 2013 the political situation in Ukraine had evolved dramatically from the collapse of the Yanukovych regime to Crimea's accession to Russia after a referendum. This simmering crisis has plunged Russia's relations with the U. S. and other Western countries into a deep chill. The West has imposed multiple rounds of sanctions upon Russia and excluded it from the G8. For its part, Russia has counteracted by minding its economy and flexing its military muscles. Thus, a significant geopolitical collision is taking place between Russia and the West. The tit-for-tat rivalry between the U. S. and Russia has triggered a heated debate among some Western strategists about a new U. S.-Russia Cold War, although this outcome is unlikely to transpire. At present, the contest between the two countries over the Ukraine issue is still ongoing. The structural conflict between them is unlikely to be resolved in the near future, and confrontation may become the theme of U. S.-Russia relations for some time to come.

China-Russia relations have never been better. In the past year, China-Russia relations have developed rapidly, with frequent visits between their top leaders. For two consecutive years, President Xi Jinping has paid his first overseas visit of the year to Russia. President Putin has visited China twice, and the heads of state have met five times in the year, which enhanced the top-level design and provided the strategic guidance over the relationship, moving the overall strategic partnership between the two countries forward. During the fourth Conference on Interaction and Confidence-Building Measures in Asia (CICA) summit, China and Russia signed more than 50 documents cooperation agreements and made breakthroughs in a host of major strategic projects. They agreed on an overall energy partnership and signed the Memorandum on China-Russia East Route Natural Gas Cooperation and an agreement on the supply of natural gas through the west route pipelines.

Substantial progress was achieved in cooperation plans for cross-border infrastructure construction, new and high technology, and joint military training and exercises. Trade and economic cooperation increased in less than favorable conditions, with bilateral trade growing by 6.8% in 2014 to more than $95 billion. Mutual support continued on issues related to the parties' core interests. Security cooperation was enhanced in the fight against the Three Evils of terrorism, separatism and religious extremism and the safeguarding of international information security, among other areas. The two countries have also played an important role in promoting world peace, stability and prosperity by maintaining close contact in the tackling of international crises and regional flashpoints.

New progress has been made in China-U. S. relations despite

occasional setbacks. The 36 years since the establishment of diplomatic relations between China and the U.S. have witnessed a general trend of positive progress, and obstacles have generally been overcome. In 2013 at the Annenberg Estate in the U.S., President Xi proposed a major initiative-building a new-model major country relationship between China and the U.S. featuring non-conflict and non-confrontation, mutual respect and win-win cooperation. This marked a new starting point in China-U.S. relations. In 2014, solid steps were taken in pursuit of this goal. As a sequel to the Annenberg summit, both heads of state had in-depth evening discussions at Yingtai in the Zhongnanhai Compound of Beijing on progressing China-U.S. relations and other major issues concerning international and regional peace and development. This dialogue gave substance to the new model relationship.

Positive results were achieved in addressing climate change and *visa reciprocity*. In particular, the Chinese Ministry of National Defense and the U.S. Department of Defense signed a Memorandum of Understanding (MOU) on establishing "mutual reporting and trust mechanism on major military operations" and a "code of safe conduct on naval and air military encounters" between the two sides. This was the first such agreement in the history of exchanges between the armed forces of the two countries, defining important measures for fostering greater understanding of each other's strategic intentions and mutual trust on strategic issues, and enhancing crisis control and risk prevention. The China-U.S. Strategic and Economic Dialogue and a high-level consultation on people to people exchanges resulted in more than 300 concrete outcomes, and a clear plan for a wide range of dialogue and cooperation in the bilateral, regional and global fields between the two countries.

However, obstacles have continued to impede China-U. S. relations, such as the approval given to the Dalai Lama's U.S. visit, frequent close-in U. S. reconnaissance of China, and occasional negative incidents in cyberspace security and arms sales to Taiwan. All these can only serve to interfere with the continuous, sound and stable development of the bilateral relationship.

II. Respective strategic trends of China, the U. S. and Russia

The strategic intentions of a major power have a direct impact on its policyorientation and foreign relations. Seeking common ground while recognizing differences, looking towards the future with a historical perspective instead of provoking conflict by magnifying differences would be beneficial to effective risk control, prevention of misunderstandings and misjudgments, and stable development of the trilateral relations.

"Westward stabilization and eastward development" is Russia's critical strategy to break from its isolation. The Ukraine crisis and the multiple rounds of sanctions by the U.S. and the West have brought high-level dialogue and cooperation with Russia to a virtual standstill, causing its worst economic problems since the global financial crisis in 2008. On the one hand, despite a difficult situation, the beleaguered Russia has vowed that it will not bow to Western pressure. Putin stated unequivocally in his state of the nation address in December 2014 that Russia would never allow the U. S. and other Western countries to dismember it as they did Yugoslavia. On the other, Russia is seeking some easing of tensions and compromise with the West. In the same address, Putin stressed that Russia had no desire for an overall deterioration in its relations

with the U.S. and Europe under any circumstances, and much less would it choose self-isolation willingly. This signaled to the West Russia's preference for cooperation on an equal footing as opposed to confrontation. In February 2015, Russia, Germany, France and Ukraine signed a new Minsk Agreement on the Ukrainian crisis, a move that indicates Russia's readiness to prevent the crisis from escalating and mend fences with the West. Meanwhile, Russia has been active in developing relations with countries to the east, showing greater strategic interest in Asia-Pacific affairs and intensifying pragmatic cooperation with countries in that region. The purpose is to leverage the great potential in the region for enlarging Russia's strategic leeway and creating a favorable external environment for ensuring its security, buttressing its economy, and reviving its status as a great power.

Rebalancing toward the Asia-Pacific is the U. S. 's established strategy, subject to ongoing adjustment. The strategic rebalancing toward the Asia-Pacific is one of the most important diplomatic initiatives introduced by President Obama. Now in the second half of his second term, this strategy is designed to become his diplomatic legacy. He is devoted to it and will not easily give it up. President Obama and other U.S. dignitaries have paid a number of visits to the Asia-Pacific to reiterate the importance of engaging in this region; they stress their resolve to pursue this strategy in the face of other international or regional flashpoints. It can be expected that for some time to come the U.S. will continue to focus its strategic concern and power projection on the Asia-Pacific in the context of its global strategy.

However, it should also be noted that this strategy will not always run smoothly and thus will require ongoing adjustment. Since

the U. S. mid-term election in November 2014, the Republicans have controlled both the Senate and the House of Representatives, weakening the position of President Obama. In addition, the effectiveness of the administration is compromised by the urgent need to tackle budget cutbacks, create more jobs, and carry out social reform. The U.S. Asia-Pacific strategy has additionally been impeded by a series of red—hot issues such as the Ukraine crisis and the expansion of the Islamic State.

China is firmly committed to major-country diplomacy with Chinese characteristics. Since the 18th CPC National Congress, China's main focus has been peaceful development and national rejuvenation, and building a new type of international relations based on win-win cooperation. Major-country diplomacy with Chinese characteristics represents the enterprise and aspirations of the world's largest developing country. In 2014, China successfully hosted two major diplomatic events, the CICA summit in Shanghai and the APEC summit in Beijing. President Xi has personally initiated the strategic concept of "One Belt and One Road", which aims to bring the countries along the Belt and Road together and build a community of shared interests, responsibility, and destiny featuring mutual political trust, economic integration and cultural inclusiveness. China has also played a constructive role in responding to international and regional incidents such as the conflict between Palestine and Israel and the outbreak of Ebola. For the foreseeable future, on the basis of continuity and stability in its major diplomatic policies and guidelines, China will expand multi-faceted diplomacy, promote the "One Belt and One Road" strategy, and positively contribute to the handling of contemporary international relations, in a bid to let the Chinese dream and the world's dream enhance each other.

III. A win-win approach to overall stability and development in China-U. S. -Russia relations

The situation defines the task, and challenges create opportunities. As three decisive players in the international arena, China, the U.S. and Russia must focus on forging links of common interest, increasing strategic mutual trust, expanding mutually beneficial cooperation, and actively seeking joint gains. They should unite as guardians of global security, promoters of common development, and builders of the international system, and open a path for cooperation that is shared by and beneficial to all.

First, enhancing mutual trust should always be regarded as a fundamental prerequisite for developing trilateral relations. Just as people cannot treat each other sincerely and extend their friendship without keeping promises, countries cannot seek common ground, resolve differences and coexist in peace without good faith. As an old Chinese saying goes, "A relationship based on interests will break off at the end of those interests; a relationship based on power will collapse when power no longer exists. The only kind of relationship that can last must be based on the exchange of hearts." The establishment of trust must, in the final analysis, rely upon mutual understanding. A firm foundation of "mutual trust" can only be built in a spirit of sincerity and mutual respect for each other's core and essential interests—such as sovereignty, security and development—as well as for the other's reasonable concerns. To reach consensus through dialogue and negotiation, to resolve differences in a spirit of mutual understanding and mutual accommodation, and to overcome disputes with a future-oriented vision are the most effective means and most reliable guarantee for improving mutual trust.

Though history cannot be rewritten, the future can be shaped and trust can be cultivated. Yet there can be no trust without communication. The three countries should, in particular, treat each other with candor and sincerity, be open in exchanging their views on foreign policy and development strategy, and explicitly state their commitment to non-conflict and non-confrontation, in order to prevent strategic misjudgments and circumvent the Thucydides Trap (which claims that a clash between a rising power and an established power is inevitable). In the case of China in particular, it is still a developing country with no interest in dominance or expansion. So, it needs a favorable international environment and will spare no effort to maintain and extend its strategic opportunities. As a perpetual believer in good faith, justice and harmony, China will continue to follow the principles of mutual trust and respect in order to dispel suspicion and prevent misjudgments.

Second, expanding cooperation should always be upheld as a practical way to develop the trilateral relations. Cooperation is both a ballast and a boost for relations between countries. A retrospective on history shows that many problems in bilateral or multilateral relations were solved through cooperation and joint development. For the foreseeable future, China, the U.S. and Russia should focus on enlarging the scope of their bilateral cooperation, and cement the bedrock of their relations through deep and high-level cooperation in the broadest range of areas. Additionally, they should continue to strengthen their trilateral cooperation in a joint effort to tackle global challenges. The global economy is still undergoing profound readjustment. As major economies of the world, China, the U.S. and Russia, facing the same challenges, should work together to

give priority to economic cooperation, and to create favorable conditions for cooperation in all areas. Faced with the new threats that terrorism poses to all humankind, the three countries should continue to intensify cooperation in counter-terrorism, first and foremost, in the converging points of major concerns that are identified according to their respective priorities and focuses.

This year marks the 70th anniversary of the world’s victory against fascism and the founding of the UN. The three countries should take this opportunity to improve communication and coordination, jointly safeguard the fruits of WW Ⅱ victory and the post-war international order, and show to the international community their resolve to ensure world peace and security.

Third, mutually beneficial outcomes should always be the goal of trilateral relations. Against the general backdrop of globalization, and with their interests closely interlinked, all countries rise and fall together. There is either security for all or security for none. It is becoming increasingly apparent that the world is a highly interdependent community of common destiny. The Cold War mentality and zero-sum games will no longer work; win-win cooperation is the only way to a promising future. The various interests of China, the U. S. and Russia have reached an unprecedented level in scope and depth, with their shared interests far outweighing their differences and disputes, and the extent of cooperation far exceeding that of conflict. They are therefore better positioned than ever before to march towards the goal of peace and development. The win-win approach is the right option to take in order to realize that goal. To consider other countries’ reasonable concerns while pursuing one’s own interests, to foster common development with other countries while seeking one’s own

development, to abandon the old practice of unilateralism and eschew the outdated idea of "winner takes all", to always promote win-win cooperation and deepen the fusion of interests—these are the only approaches to a sound and stable trilateral relationship between China, the U.S. and Russia. For instance, on the Ukraine issue, Dr. Henry Kissinger has suggested that Ukraine should become a bridge of communication between the East and the West instead of an outpost of confrontation. This idea, I personally believe, is well worth considering. For it is my consistent conviction that as long as they follow the principles of moving forward and showing consideration for each other's position, each accommodating the others, countries can work together to turn flashpoints and areas of conflict into bridgeheads of cooperation and buffer zones against conflict.

The fluctuating relationships between major powers are an important driving force of the times. As an ancient saying goes, "One person is only an individual, but three make a team." If China, the U. S. and Russia unite their efforts, a giant wave of positive energy will be released. Let us seize the opportunity and march forward together, realize mutual trust and respect through communication, learn from each other through exchange, and bring about a win-win situation through cooperation, in order to break new ground for our trilateral relations and press ahead with the building of a better world with lasting peace and common prosperity.

Section Two

Development of Security Issues and International Security Cooperation

On Non-Traditional Security Issues*

Ladies and Gentlemen, Comrades, Friends,

It gives me great delight to attend today's symposium on non-traditional security issues, and discuss with friends from all walks of life how to understand and deal with the important subject of non-traditional security issues. The report at the 17th CPC National Congress regarded "**interlinked traditional and non-traditional security threats**" as one of the major difficulties and challenges facing world peace and development. This speaks to the fact that non-traditional security issues, once local and latent, have generally evolved into a realistic global threat. Non-traditional security threats, combined with traditional ones, are on a constant rise. This phenomenon, as one prominent characteristic of the current international security situation, has become a major subject that merits our serious consideration and a proper response. As an old Chinese saying goes

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* This article was a keynote speech delivered by the author when attending the symposium themed "Non-Traditional Security: World and China" held by the Center for Security and Strategic Studies, China Institute for International Strategic Studies on December 15, 2007.

from *The Five Vermin* written by Han Feizi, "the world changes, and everything changes with it; Everything changes, and measures change." Therefore, I very much agree that this symposium should be devoted to in-depth discussions and reflections on how to view and deal with non-traditional security issues.

Today, I'd like to share with you some of my thoughts on three issues. First, what is a non-traditional security issue? Second, what is the grand security concept? Third, what is the new security concept?

I. Non-traditional security issue

The non-traditional security issue has emerged as a concept drawing wide attention since the end of the Cold War and since 9/11 Attacks in particular. But the fact is that these are not a brand-new phenomenon; they have existed since ancient times. For quite a long period of time, the major security threats facing most countries involved traditional security issues such as territory, sovereignty and regime. It was not until 9/11 Attacks, the incident that most dramatically highlighted the increasing prominence of non-traditional security threats represented by terrorism, that the issue began to attract the widespread concern of the international community. Some western countries have even listed non-traditional security issues as the major security threat they face.

With regard to the connotation and extension of non-traditional security threats as a concept, there are various versions, and no unified or generally recognized one. However, they share a number of commonalities. In accordance with official documents, and based onacademic research, I'd like to propose the following definitions of traditional and non-traditional security threats:

Traditional security threats refer to those that threaten core interests such as national territory, sovereign integrity, national unification, or regime stability. Areas such as military, politics and diplomacy are covered, and threats to military security in particular.

Non-traditional security threats, as a relative term to traditional security threats involving the military, politics and diplomacy, refer to other factors that pose threats to sovereign countries and the survival and development of humanity as a whole. They mainly comprise terrorism, energy security, food security, water resource security, financial security, information security, cultural security and environmental security, along with other security threats such as drug trafficking, serious epidemics, piracy, illegal immigration, and even a part of space security threats.

In comparison with traditional threats, non-traditional security threats feature a number of characteristics:

- **First, they are cross-border in nature.** As distinct from traditional threats that are defined by national borders, they go beyond geographic boundaries and have a strong tendency to be transnational. Whether it be terrorism, cyber security, cross-border crimes, financial crisis, environmental pollution, or epidemics, they do not exist in isolation in a single country, or simply occur between states, but have an impact on a whole region or the world at large.
- **Second, proliferation.** With ever-deeper globalization, many non-traditional security threats have a tendency towards proliferation. Take for example the financial crises that broke out in East Asia and then in Latin America. Originally starting in one country, the crises went on to spread to the whole region and beyond, with the initial damage

aggravating and escalating into larger crises. Recently, the U.S. subprime crisis has caused not only the crash of its own stock market and the downturn of its real estate market, but turbulence in the global financial market. The consequences could be aslowdown in the growth of the international economy.

- **Third, diversity.** While traditional security is mainly limited to the military, political and diplomatic fields, with military security as the core, non-traditional security threats have a much wider scope. For example, energy and financial crises are mainly economic in nature, cross-border crimes and drug trafficking mainly impact on public security, and environmental pollution and natural disasters mainly involve the physical environment. Due to their diversity, non-traditional security threats are more complicated than traditional ones, and hence cannot be effectively addressed by one means alone.
- **Fourth, suddenness ofoutbreak.** For traditional security threats to brew, intensify and lead to armed conflict and war, there is usually a gradual process of building stressand a tendency to evolve, while at the same time a number of signs become apparent. In contrast, non-traditional security threats often erupt suddenly with little sign of warning. According to statistics, since 1990 over 100 major terrorist attacks have occurred without forewarning around the world. Whether it be AIDS from the 1980s, "mad cow disease", SARS, or bird flu in recent years, great harmhas been caused before people even realized the gravity of the situation. In addition, non-traditional security threats such as cyber security, financial crisis, and epidemics often do not have their roots in one

specific country, and they are more likely to be caused by non-state actors or even individuals. There is great randomness in the genesis of those threats, hence far greater difficulty in preventing their occurrence.

Currently, terrorism presents the most prominent non-traditional security threat to the international community. The arc region from the Middle East through Central Asia to South Asia and to Southeast Asia is the area worst-hit by international terrorism. Terrorist forces run wild in Iraq, Afghanistan and Pakistan. Statistics indicate that from January to November in 2007, over 790 terrorist attacks occurred, claiming over 6,000 lives and injuring over 12,100. Those numbers, compared with 2006, have increased by 34%, 32% and 25% respectively. The number of major vicious terrorist incidents with casualties over 100 was 31, up by 35% compared with 2006. At the same time, **terrorist attacks are showing an increasing trend towards the use of high-tech.** The Japanese cult aum shinrikyo used sarin gas in 1995, and in the attempted plane bombing incident on August 10th of 2006, the terrorists plotted to detonate liquid explosives. The combination of means of terror and CBRNE (chemical, biological, radiological, nuclear, and explosives) poses ever more severe and complex terror threats to the international community.

Against the backdrop of this rampant international terrorism, no country is immune. For our country, the main threats facing our national security remain those traditional ones concerning national reunification, and territorial and sovereign integrity. However, non-traditional security threats represented by terrorism cannot be overlooked. The main terrorist threats facing us now are posed by such terrorist organizations as the East Turkistan terrorist forces,

the East Turkistan Islamic Movement, and the East Turkistan Information Center, who constantly plot sabotage against our country. Moreover, China has witnessed a growing number of attacks against our overseas establishments and personnel. Up to November this year, 11 terrorist attacks have occurred against our citizens overseas, causing 13 deaths and 11 injured.

The Chinese government has a very clear-cut attitude and policy of opposing terrorism. However, it does not necessarily mean that we support all the activities conducted by western countries under the banner of counter-terrorism. On the issue of counter-terrorism, there are both consensus and differences between China and western countries.

- **First, there is a difference in understanding the relationship between terrorism and hegemonism.** China opposes terrorism in all manifestations as well as hegemonism and power politics in all forms. Therefore, we oppose using terrorism to counter hegemonism and power politics, and vice versa.
- **Second, there is a difference in the analysis of root causes of terrorism.** Some people from western countries link terrorism with Arab nations, the Islamic religion, or Islamic civilization, believing they are the root causes of terrorism. We oppose expanding counter-terrorism, oppose willful linking of terrorism with any particular nation, religion or civilization, and oppose intensifying national conflicts, religious enmity, clashes of civilizations or estrangement of peoples from different countries.
- **Third, there is a difference in the definition of terrorist organizations.** On December 15th of 2003, China's Ministry of Public Security issued its first such terrorist list identifying

four "East Turkistan" terrorist organizations and 11 "East Turkistan" terrorists. Among these, the "East Turkistan Islamic Movement" was identified as a terrorist organization by the UN and U.S. in 2002. However, the other three have yet to be recognized as terrorist organizations by the U.S.-an indication that the U.S. and some western countries adopt a double standard in their definitions of terrorist organizations and individuals.

II. The Grand Security Concept

Just now we mentioned that the connotation andextension of national security are constantly expanding. In the past, security was viewed from a traditional perspective, with national territory, sovereign integrity and national unification and regime stability as the core interests. However, as the situation evolves, non-traditional security issues have gradually emerged as a prominent problem. " Traditional and non-traditional security threats interlinked with each other" requires **an approach to the evolution of national security from a vertical perspective and with a view of its historical development.**

From the horizontal and general perspective, issues concerning national security are also constantly expanding, covering a wide range of fields such as military, politics, economy, culture, information, finance, energy, environment, food, water, public health and even parts of space. This requires us to foster a grand and comprehensive security concept to approach threats to national security.

We can see from this year that economic security, energy

security and climate change stand out ascurrent and prominent non-traditional security issues. Next, I'd like to take these three issues as examples, and talk about how to address them through a grand security concept.

Firstly, economic security cannot be ignored. Currently our economic security is facing both internal and external challenges. On the domestic front there exist such problems as excessive economic growth, an overheated housing market, upward price pressures, and a grim situation in energy conservation and emissions reduction. During Premier Wen's visit to Singapore on November 21st this year, he cited housing, the stock market, the environment and other issues as the items that most concerned him, all of which fall within the remit of economic security. On the international front, weface risks from an increasing dependence on overseas markets, intensified trade friction stemming from international trade protectionism as well as world economic turbulence, etc., with financial security issues standing out in particular. Since our country launched its market economy relatively late, and our financial market lacks maturity, the next few years will be crucial for the reform of our financial system, while our capacity for preventing and addressing financial risks is still relatively weak. If a new round of financial crisis occurs in the international community, our country's financial security will face severe tests. Part of the massive fluid capital worth trillions of dollars in the international financial market is pouring into our country through various channels, causing strains in our financial regulation. This year's dramatic fluctuations in China's stock market are partly driven by international "hot money." In addition, western countries are teaming up to pressurize China on the RMB exchange rate.

Secondly, energy securityproblems are more severe. This year the international oil price continues to experience major fluctuations. On November 21st, the NYMEX crude oil price hit a new historical record of $ 99.29 a barrel. Competition between major powers for energy sources and channels has become more complex. For China, oil imports in 2006 reached 162.87 million tons, with external dependence accounting for 47%. In the first half of this year, oil imports (including crude oil and oil products) hit a new high of 99.59 million tons. We still face widespread challenges in such areas as diversification of channels for energy imports, security of energy transportation routes, and strategic reserves of energy. Energy security has become a major strategic issue that exerts influence on sustainable economic development and on our national security.

Thirdly, the issue of climate change is looming large. Since the beginning of this year, a series of western countries have pressed the topic of climate change within various international mechanisms including the UN, EU, and G8. Based on their economic and technological strengths, developed countries hold an advantageous position in "climate diplomacy." They tend to talk tough and ratchet up the pressure on developing countries. As far as developing countries are concerned, "politicalizing" climate issues is generally opposed, and they are suspicious of and hostile to any attempt by the developed countries to use the issue of climate change to interfere in their internal affairs or block their development. Climate change has gone beyond the environment and the economy and become a red issuein current international political and diplomatic struggles.

China upholds the principle of "common but differentiated responsibilities", and actively fulfills its due international obligations, and has madeits contribution to tackling climate

change, as evidenced by signing such international treaties as the United Nations Framework Convention on Climate Change (UNFCCC) and the Kyoto Protocol, and by introducing such policy documents as China's National Climate Change Programme. During his attendance at APEC meeting in September this year, President Hu expounded in a systematic way China's stance on climate change, and put forward four proposals covering means of strengthening cooperation, pursuing sustainable development, upholding the dominant role of UNFCCC, and promoting scientific and technological innovation. This was the first time on any major international occasionthat the Chinese government had put forward proposals on comprehensive, systematic and pragmatic cooperation, and it attracted a warm welcome and a positive response from the international community.

III. The New Security Concept

Theblending of non-traditional and traditional security threats is rooted in their intricate and complex historical and factual background. A grand security concept is therefore required on the domestic front to ensure a comprehensive response, while internationally a new security concept needs to be fostered to replace the old Cold War mindset, so that all international security issues can be addressed.

Since themid-1990s, the Chinese government has proposed and positively promoted a new security concept in the international community. On March 26th of 1999, then President Jiang delivered a speech at the Conference on Disarmament in Geneva entitled "Promote the Disarmament Process and Safeguard World Security",

providing a comprehensive elaboration of the new security concept championed by China. It pointed out for the first time that the core of China's new security concept was "mutual trust, mutual benefit, equality and coordination." In 2002, the Chinese government issued *China's Position Paper on the New Security Concept*.

China's new security concept is a comprehensive one, expanding beyond traditional fields such as military, politics and diplomacy to the economy, science and technology, culture, the environment, public health and other emerging fields. It requires an integrated strategy covering politics, the economy, finance, the military, diplomacy, science and technology, information, energy, the environment, water resources, food, culture, public health and even part of space. While taking the sovereign states as the main stakeholder, it connects national security with regional and global security; while maintaining high emphasis on traditional security threats, it also gives due attention to non-traditional security threats.

China's new security concept upholds common security. Due to the trend of diversification and internationalization of current security threats, different countries now share more common interests concerning security issues and have a deeper interdependence upon each other. Countries, whether big, medium or small, share common interests and a need for cooperation in addressing security issues. Therefore, based on their common interests, countries should pursue common security by putting in place confidence-building mechanisms and conducting strategic cooperation; should recognize and respect the diversity of the world, and maintain and promote harmonious coexistence of countries and nations with different societies and different cultural backgrounds; should seek common ground as equals while shelving differences, regardless of

their respective sizes; should address major issues concerning world and regional peace through democratization of international politics. In sum, the new security concept emphasizes common interests, common development and common security.

China's new security concept is a cooperative one. Many traditional security threats have gone beyond the scope of a single country, and non-traditional security threats in particular have strong transnational characteristics, so that relying on the resources and strength of one country alone is unlikely to address those threats effectively. Rather, only through active international cooperation and putting in place suitable modes of cooperation and trust can the common challenge of humanity caused by both traditional and non-traditional security threats be effectively tackled. The new security concept opposes the threat of or use of force to resolve international disputes, and upholds settlement of disputes in a peaceful way through equality-based dialogue, consultation and negotiations, and pursuit of security through cooperation. The cooperation emphasized by the new security concept is inclusive, and it should be conducted not only between countries sharing similar development models and views, but also between those which differ, as well as with non-state actors such as non-governmental organizations. Only inclusiveness and mutual-accommodation can serve to achieve common progress and development.

Chinaremains firmly committed to the path of peaceful development. Based on this simple premise, the new security concept championed by China embodies a sense of comprehensive security, pursues common security as its goal, and upholds cooperation as its means of promoting security. It is a new type of security concept that is in line with the prevailing trend of current

international development as well as China's national conditions. With this new security concept as its guiding light, China is determined to create a peaceful environment for its own development through safeguarding international security, and in turn promoting international security and human progress through its own peaceful development.

Thank you!

The Current Nonproliferation Situation and China's Nonproliferation Strategy*

In recent years, and especially after the September 11 attacks, the proliferation of weapons of mass destruction (WMD) has attracted increasing attention and become a red issue in the field of international relations. China has always attached importance to the nonproliferation of WMD and has actively participated in the establishment of the multilateral nonproliferation regime. It also has constantly improved its domestic export control systems and has become an important force in the maintenance and strengthening of the international nonproliferation regime. Under the new situation, as the common concerns of international security increase on a daily basis, interdependence among nations grows, and with these closer links, greater interactions among nations. This serves to further strengthen international activities in the field of nonproliferation; upgrading the international nonproliferation regime is a matter of the greatest importance and urgency.

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* This is the author's speech delivered at China-U. S. Track Two High-level Dialogue in Beijing in October, 2009.

I. Main Characteristics of the Current Nonproliferation Situation

After the Cold War, the international community turned its attention to the issue of nonproliferation. Although some results have been achieved, the current situation is still discouraging, and many hidden troubles and negative trends will continue to develop.

The international community has continuously broadened common ground and further stepped up its security measures.

As things stand, the international community has raised the awareness of the danger of proliferation of WMD, taken a positive attitude to promoting the international nonproliferation process, and strengthened international cooperation. Also, there will be more scope for the UN to play a greater role. In 2004, the UN Security Council unanimously passed a specialized nonproliferation resolution (UN Security Council Resolution 1540). Later, the UN Security Council passed three resolutions concerning North Korea's nuclear test and missile launches (Resolution 1695 passed in July, 2006; Resolution 1718 passed in October, 2006; Resolution 1847 passed in June, 2009) condemning and imposing sanctions on North Korea's actions. Concurrently, the UN Security Council passed five resolutions concerning Iran's nuclear issues (Resolution 1696 passed in July, 2006; Resolution 1737 passed in December, 2006; Resolution 1747 passed in March, 2007; Resolution 1803 passed in March, 2008; Resolution 1835 passed in September, 2008) pressing Iran to strengthen cooperation with the international community and accept the inspections and supervision of the International Atomic Energy Agency (IAEA), and to ensure that its nuclear program is dedicated to peaceful purposes.

During the course of this process, nonproliferation measures have been constantly refined. They extend gradually from strengthening existing nuclear nonproliferation regimes to all the other aspects of proliferation activities including restricting uranium enrichment and the export of post-treatment equipment and technology, shutting down underground laboratory and manufacturing facilities, investigating middlemen, intercepting traffic, and even freezing assets. Those countries involved have continued to promote the role of the Nuclear Nonproliferation Treaty and IAEA. Issues such as establishing international fuel banks will gradually make their way onto the agenda.

Nonproliferation Continues to Gain Momentum and the Threat of Nuclear Terrorism Is Real.

First, the number of states possessing nuclear weapons continues to increase. In the existing international political order and security situation, for security reasons and geopolitical considerations, some countries find it hard to forsake their motives for possessing nuclear weapons. In addition to the five nuclear powers recognized internationally, India, Pakistan, Israel and North Korea are already de facto nuclear states. Iran's nuclear plans have also attracted the close attention of the international community.

Second, the design principles of nuclear weapons are no longer a secret. Nowadays, anyone can download the design plan of a nuclear weapon via the Internet. The threshold of possessing nuclear weapons has been greatly lowered.

Third, the demands placed on security control of materials for nuclear weapons are on the increase. Nowadays, with frequent exchanges of dual-use nuclear items and related technologies, and the development of civilian nuclear energy boosted by energy

demand, it is far more difficult to guarantee the security of dual-use nuclear technology used for "peaceful purposes"; the channels through which terrorists can gain access to nuclear materials and technology are growing.

Fourth, there are many more players in the game of nuclear proliferation. Sources of nuclear proliferation and nuclear targets continue to increase. The threat of nuclear terrorism is real. Back in the late 1990s, Al Qaeda attempted to obtain uranium materials. Since the September 11 attacks, it has highlighted acquiring nuclear weapons as a key target.

Lastly, in the vast network of the international nuclear black market, smuggling is extremely complex and very difficult to eradicate. This means that the chance of a terrorist organization getting its hands on nuclear materials, nuclear technology, and nuclear weapons is starting to increase, and the potential risk should not be underestimated.

Thedissemination of missiles and related technology is becoming a serious concern. A growing number of countries possess missiles and missile manufacturing capabilities.

Thedissemination of ballistic missiles and cruise missiles is accelerating. The number of countries with missiles or missile manufacturing capabilities now extends well beyond the five "official" nuclear powers. According to the estimation of the Commission on the Prevention of Weapons of Mass Destruction Proliferation and Terrorism, an independent international non-governmental research institution, there are around 40 countries in the world which have access to or have developed ballistic missiles; within this group more than 10 countries have missiles with a range of more than 1,000 kilometers. Israel, Iran, India, Pakistan and

North Korea all have plans to develop missiles with a range of more than 3,000 kilometers. Japan's space technology and launch vehicle technology developed rapidly. It has now essentially mastered intercontinental ballistic missile technology. Republic of Korea is already capable of independently developing short range ballistic missiles, and we cannot rule out the possibility that it will develop intermediate- and long-range ballistic missile in the future. Specifically, as the U.S. has pushed ahead with the development of anti-missile systems with its allies, missile technology has spread horizontally among those allies.

II. China Has Becomea Significant Force in Maintaining and Strengthening International Nonproliferation

As amajor country and a permanent member of the UN Security Council, China has always taken a responsible attitude to the nonproliferation issue and played an active part in international nonproliferation efforts. We have always believed that proliferation of WMD is detrimental not only to world peace and stability but also to China's own security. Therefore, China has consistently stood for a total prohibition and the complete destruction of nuclear weapons, and has firmly opposed any proliferation of WMD and their means of delivery. We have firmly pursued the police of not supporting, encouraging or assisting any country to develop WMD and their means of delivery, and we have taken concrete steps to further the international nonproliferation process.

China has concluded all the international legal instruments andis a member state of most of the international organizations concerning the nonproliferation of WMD.

In the nuclear arena, China joined the IAEA in 1984 and has

voluntarily placed its civilian nuclear facilities under IAEA safeguards. China joined the Treaty on the Non-Proliferation of Nuclear Weapons (NPT) in 1992. China was one of the first signatories to the Comprehensive Nuclear-Test-Ban Treaty (CTBT) in 1996 and supported and actively participated in the work of the treaty organization committee. China joined the Zangger Committee responsible for nuclear export control mechanisms in 1997. China then signed the additional protocol on strengthening of the IAEA's function of safeguards in 1998, and completed the domestic legal procedures of the additional protocol in 2002—the first of the five nuclear possessing countries to complete the procedures. China has taken an active part in the work of international organizations such as the IAEA and the Preparatory Commission for the Comprehensive Nuclear-Test-Ban Treaty Organization. It has supported the IAEA in an effort to prevent potential nuclear terrorist activities and has taken an active and constructive part in revising the Convention on the Physical Protection of Nuclear Material (CPPNM). China joined the Nuclear Suppliers Group (NSG) in May 2004. At the same time, China has actively supported countries involved in establishing nuclear-weapon-free zones. China has signed and approved the related protocol on the Treaty for the Prohibition of Nuclear Weapons in Latin America and the Caribbean (Treaty of Tlatelolco), the South Pacific Nuclear Free Zone Treaty (Treaty of Rarotonga), and the African Nuclear-Weapon-Free Zone Treaty. China has signed the Protocol to the Treaty on the Southeast Asia Nuclear-Weapon-Free Zone(Treaty of Bangkok)and has hopes that the ratification process will be accelerated. China has supported the establishment of a Central Asian Nuclear-Weapon-Free-Zone Treaty and will welcome its entry into force.

In the field of biology, China joined the Convention on the Prohibition of the Development, Production and Stockpiling of Bacteriological (Biological) and Toxin Weapons and on Their Destruction (BWC) in 1984 and has strictly adhered to its obligations under the BWC. Since 1988, year by year, China has submitted confidence-building measures for the convention to the UN according to the decisions made by the review conference of the convention. China is actively committed to strengthening the effectiveness of the convention in the multilateral framework.

In the field of chemistry, China has made an active contribution to reaching the agreements in the Convention on the Prohibition of the Development, Production, Stockpiling and Use of Chemical Weapons and on Their Destruction. In 1993, China signed the instrument of ratification of the convention and in 1997 deposited it. China has actively supported the work of Organization for the Prohibition of Chemical Weapons (OPCW), rigorously adhered to its obligations under the convention, promulgated the implementation of the relevant legislation, established a specialized compliance agency, and submitted promptly and in full to the initial announcement and to any further annual requirements. By June 2009, China had hosted more than 190 on-site inspections from the OPCW.

In the field of missiles, China has supported the efforts made by the international community to prevent the proliferation of missiles and related technologies and materials and has taken a positive, open and practical attitude to any suggestions offered by international community to strengthen the missile nonproliferation regime. China has always taken a constructive approach to the work of UN panels of governmental experts on missiles and the discussion on the draft of International Code of Conduct against Ballistic

Missile Proliferation and international initiatives such as Global Missile Monitoring System (GMS).

China has actively strengthened thecreation of nonproliferation export control laws and regulations under the domestic legal framework.

China has always believed that effective export control is an important means of achieving nonproliferation goals. As a country with certain industrial and technological capabilities, China has adopted responsible policies and initiatives in this field. After years of effort, China's nonproliferation export control has completed the transition from administrative to legalized management, and relevant export control measures have been enacted in accordance with international practice.

The Chinese government has already promulgated several export control nonproliferation regulations including the Regulations of the People's Republic of China on Control of Nuclear Export and the Regulations of the People's Republic of China on Export Control of Dual-Use Biological Agents and Related Equipment and Technologies. These regulations and corresponding control inventories form a complete regulatory system of export control covering sensitive technologies and items including nuclear items, biological and chemical items, missiles, and all military products. This system combines the export control mechanisms of relevant countries with China's own hands-on experience, and makes wide use of systems of export registration, license control, end-user and end-use certification, and list control.

China has constantly improved the above systems according to theevolving situation and the demands of the relevant international obligations. For instance, the Chinese government issued and implemented Measures for the Administration on Import and Export

License for Dual-use Items and Technologies in January 2006, which has improved and reinforced in each succeeding year the regulations system in the field of dual-use items and technologies and the import and export control and updated Directory of Administration on Import and Export License for Dual-use Items and Technologies. In accordance with the obligations it assumed after joining the NSG in November 2006, China revised the Regulations of the People's Republic of China on Control of Nuclear Exports, and later in January 2007 revised the Regulations of the People's Republic of China on Control of Nuclear Dual-Use Items and Related Technologies Exports. In accordance with its own national conditions and those of Australia, in July 2006 the Chinese government renewed the control List of Regulations of the People's Republic of China on Export Control of Dual-Use Biological Agents and Related Equipment and Technologies. In addition, according to the specific needs of nonproliferation export control work, the Chinese government has implemented temporary control over the export of graphite products since September 2006 and has demanded licensing of all such export products. In December 2008, we updated the Directory of Administration on Import and Export License for Dual-Use Items and Technologies.

In addition, to ensure that these laws and regulations of nonproliferation export control are effectively implemented, the Chinese government has made great efforts in creating institutions, publicizing laws, educating companies, and investigating and dealing with cases of illegal activity.

III. Reflections on Further Strengthening International Nonproliferation Efforts

Chinamaintains the view that roots of WMD proliferation are

complex. The fundamental way to solve the problem is by way of the total prohibition and complete destruction of WMD. On the way to achieving this fundamental goal, the international community should seek proper solutions through political and diplomatic means based on the principle of addressing both symptoms and root causes.

A comprehensive approach to address both symptoms and root causes and a peaceful means to solve the problem of diffusion

The issue of proliferation of WMD does not exist in isolation; it is closely related to the international and regional security environment. Seeking a general improvement in international relations is not only the fundamental solution to eliminating the threat, but also a prerequisite for carrying out nonproliferation efforts smoothly. The international community should establish a new security concept featuring mutual trust, mutual benefit, fairness and cooperation as the core, and all parties must respect each other's security interests, seek universal security, and eliminate at root the inner drive of certain countries to develop WMD. The international community should settle concerns of proliferation through political and diplomatic means. The one-sided emphasis on keeping up pressure, imposing sanctions, and resorting to force will do nothing to solve the problem, and using nonproliferation as a pretext to further other interests will provoke trouble. The international community should continue to encourage the countries involved to strengthen dialogue, enhance mutual trust, and reduce suspicion and normalize relations, thus creating favorable conditions for solving the problem of proliferation.

Adhere to the impartiality of the international nonproliferation regime; relinquish double standards and abandon the selective approach.

To win universal supportfor and participation of all countries in

the nonproliferation effort, we must maintain the impartiality and rationality of the international nonproliferation mechanism, address any discriminatory practices, and guarantee the right of countries to the peaceful use of advanced science and technology. Any consolidation of the existing nonproliferation regime or new measures against proliferation should be conducted on the basis of universal participation and democratic decision-making, and giving full play to the role of the UN On the nonproliferation issue, all countries should be treated equally. We must insist on no double standards, and we cannot make choices based on the criterion of satisfying the narrow interests of a few countries. Any country that puts undue emphasis on its own security interests and implements a mandatory counter-proliferation policy, is sure to do damage to the authority and effectiveness of the international multilateral nonproliferation regime and lose the understanding and support of the international community.

Balance the relationship between nonproliferation and peaceful use of nuclear energy and do not use nonproliferation as an excuse toinfringe the rights of developing countries in the field of the international scientific and technological cooperation and exchanges.

Nonproliferation and peaceful use of nuclear energy are complementary to each other. They are in harmoniousbalance, not diametrically opposite. On the one hand, we should respect and safeguard the rights to peaceful use of nuclear energy of all countries—especially developing countries—on the premise of ensuring the success of nonproliferation. On the other hand, we need to put an end to the proliferation activities of any countries which manipulate peacekeeping as an excuse. The tendency of attaching importance to nonproliferation and despising peaceful uses

of nuclear energy will greatly dampen the enthusiasm for international nonproliferation efforts of the vast number of developing countries, and will further reduce the effectiveness of the existing nonproliferation regime.

Grounded on the maintenance of the overall situationin Sino-U. S. bilateral relations, promote nonproliferation cooperation as an important means of promoting Sino-U. S. relations.

The nonproliferation issue is directly related to the overall situationin Sino-U. S. relations and is also an important area of common interests. At present, China and the United States still have some differences of opinion over the nonproliferation issue. For instance, the U. S. has applied its domestic laws to sanction Chinese companies, which is harmful to the healthy development of nonproliferation cooperation between China and the U. S. But through the joint efforts of both sides, the nonproliferation issue is transiting from a "friction point" to a "cooperation point", and has become an important means of promoting the steady development of Sino-U. S. relations. The U. S. and China have worked in close cooperation on the North Korea and Iran nuclear issues, and have achieved some notable successes. We have noted that on the issue of nonproliferation, President Barack Obama has striven to alter the situation where previous administrations have relied too much on the practice of coercion, and has begun to attach great importance to relying on existing international arms control mechanisms and relevant arrangements, and he has also advocated enhancing the effectiveness of the nonproliferation mechanism through cooperation. This adjustment will have an important impact on the international nonproliferation situation and process. Our country attaches great importance to the UN Security Council Summit on

Nuclear Nonproliferation and Nuclear Disarmament and Global Nuclear Security Summit proposed by President Obama, and we hope to reach a broad consensus on the nonproliferation issue on a global scale through these efforts. We look forward to a more pragmatic response from the U.S. to China's constructive role in the movement against proliferation, and a change to the U.S.'s existing practice of implementing sanctions against our companies and entities. We should make joint efforts to raise nonproliferation cooperation between China and the U.S. to a higher level.

Asymmetrical Security Challenges: From Terrorism to Cyber attack*

Ever sincethe dawn of the 21st century, peace, development and cooperation have become the main trends of the times, with world multipolarization, economic globalization and social informatization developing fast, and international politics, the economy and security issues undergoing profound change. What merits particular attention is the evolution in the international security arena. In today's world, the range of security is being constantly widened, with the blending of traditional security threats and non-traditional security threats, and the security issue is becoming ever more diverse and complex. **As a new trend that looms large in the international security field, asymmetrical security challenges are provoking general concern in the international community.** The following are a few of my own observations on this issue:

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* This is a keynote speech given at the International Academic Symposium on China and Transatlantic States: Response to the Global Security Challenges. The symposium was held on November 21, 2011.

I. Asymmetrical security challenges have developed into a telling feature of today's security threats

In the international securityarena "asymmetrical" has two implications: a) The strong overwhelm their weak rivals by exploiting absolute superiority in military might, weaponry, technology, information, etc. b) The weak launch attacks against the vulnerable points of the strong by resorting to such asymmetrical and non-conventional operations as guerrilla warfare, terrorist attack, cyber attack and weapons of mass destruction. **My presentation today will focus on asymmetrical security challenges represented by terrorism and cyber attack.**

Asymmetrical security challenges have the following features:

a) Unpredictable. The subjects of asymmetrical security challenges are primarily non-state actors such as individuals and non-state organizations, making it hard to tell when, where and in what way an attack will be carried out. In particular, the instruments and means that can be exploited by transnational criminal and terrorist organizations at present are on a rapid increase. In addition to traditional military means, other means such as civilian passenger planes, cyber tools, nuclear material, chemical toxicants, and genetic materials, are all likely tools to be used as weapons by terrorists.

b) Unexpected. Asymmetrical security challenges will more often than not occur all spontaneously, with no obvious prior signs to warn of the problem. They may not last long, making it difficult to take preventive measures or to forestall them. Since 1990, more than 100 terrorist attacks of considerable magnitude have taken the world by surprise. Cyber attacks carry the same characteristics of spontaneity and lack of exante warning signs.

c) **Transnational.** Asymmetrical security challenges have a transnational character in their selection of targets for attack and in their execution. For instance, hackers are in the position to attack computers in every corner of the world. The tentacles of Al Qaeda extend over many countries, forming a loosely organized setup with the work of fund-raising, recruitment, weapons supply, and selection of targets for attack being carried out worldwide.

d) **Destructive.** Asymmetrical security challenges are mostly low in cost, and less demanding in terms of resources and manpower, and yet they can take a heavy toll on both human lives and property, showing an asymmetrical contrast between the cost and the effect.

II. The threat of terrorism is an asymmetrical security challenge generally confronted by all countries in the 21st century

As aparticular form of violence, terrorist attack has always been an asymmetrical means to which the weak resort in order to challenge the strong. In the wake of 9/11 Attacks, international terrorist activities have entered a new phase, presenting a mounting threat to society. **The evolution of international terrorist activities over the past** 10 **years has shown their asymmetrical nature in many ways:**

a) **Itrepresents the small taking on the big, resulting in significant threats to the security of many countries.** The past 10 years have witnessed the rise of international terrorism on the whole and a heavy toll on human lives and property. Statistics indicate that from 2002 to 2011, more than 6,000 terrorist attacks around the world claimed more than 40,000 lives and injured 90,000 more.

b) **Itrepresents the weak against the strong, turning poverty-stricken and underdeveloped areas into regions with a high incidence of terrorist attacks.** Based on the above statistics, from 2002 more than

80% of terrorist attacks struck the "arc belt" stretching from Caucasia through the Middle East, Central Asia, and South Asia to Southeast Asia. These are by and large poverty-stricken and underdeveloped areas, and are subject to chaos of wars. Of that total, terrorist attacks in South Asia in particular represented more than 40% of the overall terrorist attacks across the entire world.

c) Itrepresents operating under cover against those in the open, with the operation patterns becoming more diversified and stealthy. Terrorist activities in recent years have tended towards incremental networking and being scattered, with techniques and tactics constantly improving. Hi-tech methods emerge constantly, such as liquid bombs, swallow—in human bombs, and anthrax virus.

China is also a victim of terrorism. In the past three years the East Turkistan terrorist forces have carried out over 90 violent crimes in Xinjiang, killing and injuring some 1,000 people and causing great property damage. The Chinese government opposes all forms of terrorism.

III. Cyber security represents a growing threat to all countries' national security

The Internet is the crystallization of human wisdom and an important benchmark of the development of hi-tech in today's world. The Internet has stimulated the transformation of the means of information diffusion and advanced the development of human society. However, as every country develops a stronger dependency on cyber technology for its economic and social development, cyber security becomes an ever more prominent issue, and accordingly, the threat of cyber-attack and sabotage to the security of every country is likewise on the increase. Today, many countries are faced

with challenges posed by various forms of cyber-attack, mounting cyber crimes, and the spread of harmful information that is hard to check. Hacker gangs have acquired the capability of using asymmetrical means like covert operation and "click-and-destroy" (instant damage) technology to challenge sovereign states and governments as well as large enterprises. Between April and July this year, well-known companies like Sony and Citibank fell victim of hacker attacks, resulting in more than 100 million users having their account information leaked, and more than 200,000 people in North America having the personal information stored in their bank cards leaked to others. The resulting economic losses were heavy. **China is among the major victims of hacker attack and is subjected to a great many cyber attacks launched from other countries every year.** According to statistics, the year of 2010 saw as many as 4, 635 Chinese government websites being tampered with, showing a two-thirds increase against the 2,765 cases in 2009. The websites that were attacked belonged to a number of different government departments. Therefore, upgrading the capability of protecting the Internet and ensure Internet safety has become a vital national security task for all countries.

IV. Effective response to asymmetrical security challenges requiresa step up in international cooperation

China haslong promoted the new security concept of mutual trust, mutual benefit, equality and coordination, and has striven to bring about comprehensive security, common security, and cooperative security. China is of the view that the following basic principles ought to be observed in dealing with asymmetrical security challenges:

1. Strengthen international cooperation and deal with security challenges jointly. Asymmetrical security challenges such as terrorism and cyber attack are not issues afflicting any individual country alone, but a security challenge faced by every country. The unpredictable, unexpected and transnational features of asymmetrical security challenges determine that a single country stands little chance of dealing successfully with and eliminating such threats relying only on its own strength. The only way to produce an effective response to such challenges is to step up extensive international cooperation and give full play to the role of such international organizations as the UN in particular. China has consistently stood for forging international norms concerning cyber space within the UN framework, and promoted the principle of allowing the UN Security Council to take the lead in the international war against terrorism.

2. Promotea comprehensive security concept, uphold the comprehensive application of policies, and seek both short and long term solutions. The birth of asymmetrical security challenges is closely related to complex historical and political backgrounds. For this reason, the best way to address the root causes that breed and spread asymmetrical security threats is to start by putting in place a fair and rational international political and economic order. Relying on military means alone is not the right way to address asymmetrical security challenges—the only answer is the comprehensive application of a range of means that include political and economic measures.

3. Strictly observe generally recognized international norms and reject double-standards. Asymmetrical security covers a wide range. It is not restricted to such activities as terrorism and cyber attack,

but also extends to the conduct of power politics by the big and the strong against the small and the weak, and nuclear threats against non-nuclear countries by nuclear powers—these are in fact asymmetrical security issues. In addressing asymmetrical security challenges today, the international community must see to it that any such logic and practice becomes obsolete, and will be eradicated and not return. All practice of double-standards should be rejected.

We all live on the same planet, and the nations of this world have never been so closely knitted together. Asymmetrical security challenges are a vital security issue faced by all countries alike. Let us take full advantage of the opportunity of this meeting to further enhance exchange and communication, promote coordination and cooperation, and explore policies and strategies for approaching the asymmetrical security issues so as to jointly uphold the peace and stability of the international community.

The International Security Situationat the Present Time*

Theinternational situation in the world today is undergoing deep and intricate evolution; there is the constant and in-depth development of a multipolar-oriented world, economic globalization and continuous social informatization, and the gathering momentum of the trend of the times featuring peace, development, cooperation and change. In parallel with this are evolving various unsafe and unstable factors confronting the world, rendering the transformation in the realm of international security a subject requiring careful scrutiny.

I. Traditional threats to security remain very mucha present danger

Traditional security issuesin the present international arena can primarily be classified as follows: 1. Local wars and armed conflicts around the globe continue to break out frequently. 2. International

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* This article is the full text of the remarks by the author at the Forum on World Peace held in Beijing on July 7, 2012.

military competition is getting fiercer. 3. Nuclear proliferation and the problem of arms control remain grim.

To begin with, local wars and armed conflicts around the globebreak out all around us; they are numerous, concentrated in some regions, and triggered by a variety of complex causes. Since the end of the Cold War, the globe has been haunted by the frequency of armed conflicts, averaging almost 40 outbreaks per year. While their scale and intensity are generally limited, the overall state of "being plagued by seemingly unending small-scale wars" remains unchanged. In 2011, 45 armed conflicts broke out worldwide, of which 10 can be considered major conflicts, making 2011 a year with a high incidence of major armed conflicts. In the first half of 2012, 43 armed conflicts broke out around the world, of which 10 are major conflicts. Africa, the Middle East and South Asia topped the list of regions with a high incidence of armed conflicts and those worst hit by major armed conflicts. The process of identifying solutions to armed conflict around the globe will be tortuous and arduous, and will continue to have a complex and profound impact on the development of international and regional security.

Secondly, a new international revolution in military affairs continues to gain ground, and a quality-based arms race expands its reach. Committed to military transformation, major world powers are stepping up their military strategies, redoubling their efforts in the R&D of sophisticated armaments, making dynamic efforts to consolidate their superiority in military technologies, developing new operational capabilities, and raising the level of their military might. In doing so, their priorities lie in improving their strategic nuclear forces, their military space technology, their anti-missile systems, and their global and battle-field reconnaissance and

surveillance capacity. As a result, competition among some countries over such new strategic frontiers as cyberspace, outer-space, and the Poles is on the rise, and by the same token, rivalry in the related sectors will continue to generate friction.

Thirdly, strategicmaneuvering in international arms control will continue to intensify the danger of globe-wide nuclear proliferation. The process of international multilateral arms control is at present faced with numerous problems, making its future development unpredictable. First of all, the contention among major powers over the development of nuclear capability is growing deeper, with the U. S. and Russia—two major nuclear powers—continuing to modernize their nuclear weapons. Strategic conflicts in the fields of anti-missile systems and nuclear disarmament have become further complicated. Then, the fluctuating situation on the Korean Peninsula—with tension easing off at one moment simply to recur the next-leaves the parties concerned in a state of perplexity, and the uncertainties of the Iranian nuclear issue are growing. Finally, some regional powers are intentionally exacerbating the situation to serve their purpose of going nuclear, indirectly increasing the danger that terrorist organizations will be successful in laying their hands on nuclear weapons.

II. Non-traditional threats to security are on the increase, and becoming more prominent

With the end of the Cold War, and especially in the aftermath of 9/11 Attacks, the non-traditional security threat represented by terrorism looms increasingly large and is spreading to more and more areas, turning them into a major issue that has a bearing on international security. Today, non-traditional threats to security

figure prominently in the following respects:

First, economic and financial security isbecoming more vulnerable. The world is experiencing a phase when the fallout from the international financial crisis still lingers, the debt issue haunting the U. S. and Europe will not be resolved in the short-term, it is becoming increasingly difficult for countries to coordinate their macro-economic policies, the foundations of the world economic recovery remain fragile, growth in the developed economies remains sluggish, and trade protectionism is on the rise. All this serves to trigger further trade friction and impede growth in world trade. In addition, the prices of commodities are high, inflation around the globe is getting worse, and the growth of the emerging economies is likely to slow down. Problems concerning economic and financial securities are likely to loom larger in the coming period, and the complexity of the global economic environment might become a long-standing issue.

Second, the global situation of counter-terrorism remainscomplex and serious. Thanks to the growing international cooperation in counter-terrorism, and the increasing and comprehensive efforts of international community in cracking down on terrorism, the war on terrorism has made some headway. However, international terrorist activities on the whole can be characterized as being "hostile and violent, sporadic, and geographically spread, with unrest emerging in various forms." Last year more than 1, 150 terrorist attacks claimed more than 6,200 lives and injured more than 10,600. Some terrorist forces view the chaotic situation in the Middle East as a good opportunity to be taken advantage of. They have restructured their organizations and quickly evolved new forms of terrorist activity, hence posing new and tougher challenges to international security.

Third, the information security issueis becoming increasingly prominent. Recent years have seen economy and society developing a mounting dependency on information networks, with new media playing an increasing role in the political life of a state, and the "double-edged sword" effect of IT becoming more prominent. Cyber security has gradually spread from the virtual space into the real world, resulting in the rise of cyber crime and cyber terrorism, which pose an immediate threat to international security and stability as well as to individual countries. Furthermore, the gap between the developing countries and the developed countries in network development has widened, and worse still, network development in a great many developing countries remains a hostage to other countries, thus subjecting the security of these countries to serious hidden dangers.

In addition, non-traditional security issues involving energy security, food security, climate change, public health security and water security are increasingly intermingled with traditional security threats, with a complex and profound impact on international and regional security.

On balance, the current international security landscapelargely conforms to the trend of the times that embodies peace, development and cooperation. Nonetheless, there is a growing challenge posed by insecurity and uncertainty, and the intermingling of traditional security threats with non-traditional security threats. In view of this, countries must join hands, step up coordination and cooperation, drop the Cold War mentality, respond to challenges with concerted efforts, and make every effort to uphold long-lasting peace and promote common prosperity.

Strengthen International Cooperation and Safeguard Ecological Security*

I. Two important issues concerning ecological security

(i) Global warming

Since themid-18th century, the global climate has undergone remarkable changes, mainly characterized by global warming. In November 1988, the World Meteorological Organization (WMO) and the United Nations Environment Programme (UNEP) co-established the Intergovernmental Panel on Climate Change (IPCC), which is tasked with evaluating scientific, technological, social and economic data and research findings related to climate change, so as to offer references for various countries to make decisions. Its research shows that global warming is the main feature of climate change in the past 100 years.

The 20th century witnessed the quickest rise of average temperatures in the Northern Hemisphere in the past 1,000 years.

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* This is the speech drafted for the second annual conference of World Cultural Forum (Taihu, China) held in Hangzhou, May, 2013.

Global climate change is most clearly reflected in the cryosphere. Due to global warming, all of the 20 glaciers recorded by the International Glacier Association have been shrinking. There are also changes to sea ice. The sea ice in the North Pole is reducing, especially in the spring season, but the coverage of sea ice in the South Pole is increasing. In areas of middle and high latitude in the Northern Hemisphere in Eurasia, the average snow coverage from March to April each year is also gradually decreasing, certainly the result of global warming. The sea level has been raised by the melting of glaciers and snow caused by global warming coupled with the thermal expansion due to the rising temperature of the sea. It is estimated that the sea level rose 0.17m during the 20th century, and the rise has accelerated in the past 50 years.

Since the start of the 21st century, the world has seen a more obvious trend in global warming. Research predicts that:

- the sea ice in the North Pole will vanish in the latter half of this century;
- most of Bangladesh and some island countries will be submerged by the rising sea;
- the Alps in Europe will become a summer resort rather than a popular ski resort in winter;
- The Great Barrier Reef in Australia will be destroyed within the next few decades due to the rising temperature of the sea water;
- many African countries will suffer more from drought;
- in summer, the Mediterranean area will become inhabitable due to unbearable heat.

(ii) Environmental Pollution

Sincethe Industrial Revolution humanity's ability to develop and utilize natural resources has greatly improved, but environmental pollution and extreme disasters have also brought great pain to

mankind. Since 1900, nearly 50% of global wetland has vanished, about 20% of coral reef has been damaged, and about two million acres of forest have been destroyed. In the past 50 years, around 60% of the ecological system has deteriorated. In the course of their industrialization, the developed countries all suffered from serious air pollution. In particular, from the 1940s to the 1980s, there was a series of pollution incidents that included the Los Angeles photochemical smog in U. S. in 1943, the acid fog in London in 1952, the minamata disease in Japan in the 1950s, and the Bhopal Gas Disaster in India in 1984. All these events caused large-scale pollution and considerable casualties.

On June 6, 2012, UNEP issued the fifth edition of "Global Environment Outlook" (GEO-5) at the UN headquarters in New York. (The "Global Environment Outlook" is an important project initiated by former UN Secretary General Annan. UNEP has published four editions of GEO, in 1997, 2000, 2003 and 2007.) The report points out that current global development is unsustainable, even though more than 500 common objectives have been set to support sustainable environmental management and to improve people's living conditions. The various global systems have been stretched to their limits in biological and physical perspectives. The GEO conducted evaluations of the 90 most important environmental objectives, among which only four have made significant progress—reducing the production and use of materials that can destroy the ozone layer, eliminating leaded gasoline, providing more and better water resources, and promoting research into reducing pollution to the sea. About 40 objectives have made some degree of progress, including increasing the acreage of nature reserves such as national parks, and reducing the cutting of forests. Nevertheless, 24 objectives, including those related to climate change, fishery resources,

desertification, and drought have not made any progress. The situation concerning eight objectives has even deteriorated, and 14 objectives cannot be assessed because there is not enough data. The reports warn that if human beings do not change their ways of production and living, the global ecological system might collapse, and the earth might go through sudden and irreversible changes.

II. Efforts Made by China

(i) China has made positive progress in energy conservation and reduction of pollutant emissions

During the 11th Five-Year Plan (2006—2010), China's energy consumption per unit of GDP dropped by 19.1%, and the total emissions of sulfur dioxide and chemical pollutants dropped by 14.29% and 12.45% respectively. The goal set for the 11th Five-Year Plan has basically been achieved, and the utilization rate of resources also improved. During this period, water consumption per unit of industrial added value was reduced by 36.7%, and energy consumption per unit of main products dropped significantly. The environment has improved in some areas. In 2010, the percentage of water samples with quality better than Grade C taken from monitored cross-sections in the seven key river systems improved by 18.9 percentage points compared to 2005. The percentage of cities with air quality reaching Grade Ⅱ grew by 30.3 percentage points. Some successes have been achieved in ecological protection and recovery. During this period, the percentage of forest coverage has increased by 2.16 percentage points, and the quality of forage grasses in areas being restored to grasslands has also improved. More effort has been put into protecting key ecological areas, and the total acreage of desertification has been reduced. Progress has

also been made in dealing with global climate change. During the 11th Five-Year Plan, carbon dioxide emissions were reduced by 1.46 billion tons due to energy conservation measures.

(ii) China is actively developing clean energy technology

During the 11th Five-Year Plan, China's energy structure has been optimized. **Firstly, the electric power industry has made great progress by building large projects while shutting down small power plants.** 72 million kilowatts of small power plants were decommissioned in this period. Thus the objective of removing 50 million kilowatts of small coal-fired plants was accomplished ahead of schedule. The newly increased electric power installed capacity exceeded 430 million kilowatts during the five-year period, and the total installed capacity has reached 950 million kilowatts. China's electric power grid is now the biggest in the world. **Secondly, coal resources have been integrated.** China's coal output has led the world for many years. During the five-year period, 9,000 small coal mines were shut down, and 450 million tons/year of obsolete production capacity were eliminated. At the end of the 11th Five-Year Plan, there were 50 coal enterprise groups, each with output capacity above 10 million tons. Total production capacity has reached 1.73 billion tons, more than 58% of the national total. Annual oil output is around 190 million tons, ranking number five in the world. **Thirdly, the scale of hydroelectric power, nuclear power and wind-powered electricity is growing.** Large hydroelectric power stations have been built in Longtan, Jinghong and Xiaowan. The number of new generator sets built in the five years equaled the total number of generator sets built in the 95 years after China opened its first hydroelectric power plant. In 2011, China's hydroelectric power installed capacity reached 230 million kilowatts, ranking number one in the world. Since 2005, 13 nuclear power projects (representing 34

generator sets and 37.02 million kilowatt) have been authorized, including Hongyanhe in Liaoning, Ningde in Fujian and Fuqing in Fujian. By 2011, China had 15 nuclear power generator sets in operation, and the installed capacity had reached 12.54 million kilowatts. 26 generator sets are now under construction, with installed capacity of 29.24 million kilowatts, ranking first in the world. Installed capacity of wind-powered electricity increased significantly over the five years, reaching 47 million kilowatts in 2011, ranking first in the world. The 100,000 kilowatt offshore wind farm of Shanghai Donghai Bridge started to generate power and feed into the grid during the Shanghai World Expo in 2010. This was the first offshore wind farm outside Europe. **Fourthly, the new energy industries including solar power are developing very fast.** The solar energy industry is gradually rising in China, and the photovoltaic power market has also started to grow. The 10,000 kilowatt photovoltaic power station in Dunhuang was the first to generate electricity and feed into the grid. Photovoltaic power generation is expanding rapidly, and installed capacity has reached three million kilowatts. The gross collection area of solar heating is over 200 million square meters. In addition, other renewable resources such as methane, geothermal energy, and tidal energy are also being tapped.

III. Photovoltaic energy and anti-dumping conflict are worthy of note

In "The 12th Five-Year Plan for China's Development of Renewable Energy", China plans to increase its installed capacity of solar power generation to 21 million kilowatts by 2015. It is estimated that the installed power generation capacity of renewable energy will attain 25% of the national total, of which photovoltaic energy will represent 5%. Over a period of around ten years, the

compound growth rate of China’s solar energy installed capacity will exceed 25%.

On November 7, 2012, the U. S. International Trade Commission (ITC) made the final determination that crystalline silicon photovoltaic cells and their components imported from Chinawere causing substantial damage to domestic U.S. industries, thus anti-dumping and anti-subsidy duties should be imposed on these products. The China Chamber of Commerce for Import and Export for Machinery and Electronic Products issued a statement strongly opposing this determination. On May 8, 2013, EU trade commissioner Karel De Gucht proposed to impose temporary duties on China’s photovoltaic products. If his proposal were adopted, temporary duties would apply by June 6, 2013. The duty rates for different enterprises vary, and the average rate is around 47%. On May 9, 2013, Hua Chunying, spokesperson for China’s Ministry of Foreign Affairs, expressed the wish that both sides could properly address friction and problems in trade through dialogue and consultation in a constructive and cooperative spirit. She hoped that the EU could refrain from resorting to trade protectionism measures. Yao Jian, spokesperson for China’s Ministry of Commerce, said that China is strongly against EU’s imposing restrictions on Chinese photovoltaic enterprises. He said that both sides should try to settle disputes and promote common development based on a spirit of consultation. Dialogue and consultation are the best ways of settling trade disputes concerning solar energy photovoltaic products.

The EU’s anti-dumping measures against China’s photovoltaic products will result in the following: **First, Chinese enterprises will suffer heavy losses.** In January and February 2013, China’s export of photovoltaic products amounted to $1.27 billion. The anti-dumping

duties will strike a heavy blow on all photovoltaic enterprises that export products to Europe. **Second, it will also cause damage to the EU market.** On May 8, 2013, Alliance for Affordable Solar Energy (AFASE), which represents more than 450 photovoltaic products down-stream enterprises, made a statement that punitive duties on China's photovoltaic products, whatever the rate, would cause irreversible damage to the entire photovoltaic industry value chain, and the 15% anti-dumping duty rate would destroy 85% of the photovoltaic market in the EU.

Currently, more than 1,000 photovoltaic enterprises in Europeare requesting the European Commission to abandon punitive duties on China's solar energy enterprises. They argue that once punitive duties are imposed, the prices of more than 70% of solar energy modules will soar. If Europe imposes restrictions on China's photovoltaic products, China will also take measures to protect the interests of Chinese enterprises. The resulting trade war will inflict damage on both sides. In the long run, in order to properly deal with photovoltaic energy and anti-dumping issues, both sides should "strengthen international cooperation and safeguard ecological security", and try to resolve the problem through dialogue. **Firstly, it is necessary to promote the idea of common security and cooperative security. Secondly, we should stick to the principle of shared but differentiated liabilities. Thirdly, the concept of fate community of all human beings should be established.** In the future, we should attach great importance to ecological security, oppose trade protectionism, and initiate dialogue to avoid trade wars, so as to achieve mutual benefits.

Section Three

China's Security Concept and Security Policy

China's Security Policy Today*

Recent years have witnessed the continuous growth of the Chinese economy and the noticeable increasein its national aggregated strength. China's GDP in 2007 hit 24.95 trillion yuan, roughly equal to \$3.41 trillion (based on the exchange rate of 7.3 yuan to \$1 on January 1, 2008). Nevertheless, China remains the largest developing country in the world with its per capita GDP ranking below the 100th place; it still has a long way to go before reaching the objectives of industrialization, urbanization and modernization, and its urban and rural development, regional development, and economic and social development are far from balanced. Therefore, if China is to realize a moderately well-off society in all respects by the year of 2020 and to break into the ranks of the moderately developed countries by 2050, it must continue to make development its first priority and concentrate all its efforts on economic development. For this reason, China needs a lasting

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* This is a speech delivered at academic institutes in Switzerland, the United Kingdom and Ireland in May 2008.

peaceful and stable international environment. China's commitment to the road of peaceful development embraces both developing itself by way of safeguarding the world peace and promoting world peace by means of its development, and to do that China will exert itself to bring about peaceful development, open development, cooperative development, and harmonious development. China's security policy today is based on its situation as a developing country and serves its strategic commitment to the road of peaceful development.

Generally speaking, three major adjustments are being made to China's present security policy.

I. Attending to both Traditional and Non-traditional Threats to Security

The issue of traditional security remains vital, with its core being to protect national sovereignty and territorial integrity, and to safeguard national existence and development. Although a new world war in the wake of the Cold War remains very unlikely, local wars and armed conflicts have been frequent and show no sign of decline. Among 33 conflicts around the globe in 2007—a slight drop from 2006—13 were new outbreaks, essentially equaling 2006. This is clear evidence of a world that is by no means tranquil. For that reason, traditional threats to security still demand serious attention. China pursues a national defense policy that is defensive in nature with its purpose being to deal with traditional threats to security, and therefore it poses no threat to other countries.

As the international situation evolves and the concept of security changes, non-traditional security issues gradually move into the spotlight. So-called non-traditional security threats are relative to traditional security threats and by no means a novel issue. For

instance, terrorist activities and assassinations can be traced back thousands of years, while serious epidemics and natural calamities have always haunted mankind.

However, ever since theend of the Cold War, and particularly in the wake of 9/11, non-traditional threats to security represented by terrorism have begun to figure more prominently with each passing day. Any moderate successes gained in the international crackdown on terrorism have had little impact on the rampant momentum of international terrorist activities.

Statisticsindicate that there were more than 850 terrorist attacks worldwide in 2007, taking a toll of more than 6,300 lives and injuring nearly 13,000, surpassing the year 2006 in terms of both numbers of attacks and casualties. Of the above-mentioned cases, 34 fell into the category of major incidents—meaning they caused more than 100 casualties—an increase of 36% against 2006. China is not the major target of international terrorist attacks, but it is faced with terrorist threats too, the most notable being the attacks engineered by external forces such as the East Turkistan terrorist organization against overseas Chinese establishments and personnel.

To uproot terrorism has become a global issue thatrequires a joint effort by the international community and tests the wisdom, courage and will of all of us. Past experience shows quite clearly that in dealing with the threat of international terrorism, military might be inadequate. The best strategy lies in embracing comprehensive measures and the treatment of both outward symptoms and root causes. Any action taken by a single country is highly unlikely to achieve the intended result; the most effective answer lies in international cooperation.

The Chinese government has always opposed all forms of

terrorism, advocating treating both the outward symptoms and the root causes. The greatest efforts should be directed to rooting out the soil for breeding terrorism, and boosting international cooperation. In March 2007, China sent out ships to participate for the first time in a Pakistan-sponsored maritime joint military exercise coded "Peace—2007", involving nine countries conducting tactical operations against terrorism at sea. In May the same year, China took part in another joint exercise involving the 12 countries of the Second West Pacific Naval Forum in an anti-terrorist drill. August of the same year saw China partaking in "Peace Mission—2007" an anti-terrorist military exercise staged by the Shanghai Cooperation Organization. September witnessed China, together with the UK, Spain and France, successfully holding a maritime joint research and rescue exercise against terrorism, and the "Cooperation—2007" joint anti-terrorism exercise with Russia. Finally, in November, the Army of China and its Indian counterpart waged their first joint war-exercise, whose thrust was the fight against terrorism.

II. Giving Weight to Military and Political Security as well as Economic, Cultural, Information, Financial, Energy, Climate and Public Health Security

National security has expanded from the military and political sectors to numerous other fields such as economy, culture, information, finance and more. Apart from terrorism, the most noticeable of these at present are energy security, climate security and public health security.

1. Energy Security. Recent years have seen the world dogged by a long lasting hike in oil price on the international market, which

has triggered greater scrambling for the major energy sources and rivalry over energy shipping passages. This has exacerbated the problems of international energy security and further tilted the balance of international energy supplies. "World Energy Statistics 2006" issued by British Petroleum suggests that proven global oil reserves will only last for another 40 years or so at the current rate of exploitation, while natural gas and coal will last for 65 and 162 years respectively. This demonstrates clearly that energy security has already become a vital strategic issue with a bearing on the global economy and the security of all the states in the world, and therefore requires the concerted efforts of the international community to solve. Being the second biggest energy producer and consumer in the world, China attaches great importance to the energy security issue and has all along centered its energy strategy on domestic resources, giving priority to energy conservation, promoting multi-development, and enhancing cooperation—a strategy that has borne noticeable fruits. China's self-sufficiency in energy supply in terms of coal, petroleum and natural gas has for some time remained at 90% or above, more than 20 percentage points higher than the average of the OECD member states. China has been firm in giving first place to energy conservation, and as a result its unit GDP energy consumption in 2007 witnessed a year-on-year drop of about 3.27%. While retaining the policy of taking the primary resources like coal as the base, China encourages the tapping of renewable sources such as wind energy, solar energy, and bioenergy. The proportion of renewable resources in total energy consumption in China reached 7% in 2006 (note: the figures for 2007 are yet to be published). Based on the "Medium-and Long-term Development Plan of the Renewable Sources of Energy" adopted by

China's State Council in August 2007, this figure will hit 10% by the year of 2010, and 16% by 2020. China adheres to the new energy security concept of "reciprocal cooperation, multi-dimensional development, and coordinated support", plays a dynamic part in international cooperation in the energy sector, has already put in place bilateral energy dialogue mechanisms with such major energy consumers as the U. S., Japan, India and EU, has become an official member of such multilateral energy cooperation mechanisms as IEF, WEC and APP, and keeps in close touch with international energy organizations like IEA. In March 2007, Beijing hosted the China-Germany energy law and policy symposium, at which the two sides compared notes extensively and held discussions on issues like enhancing cooperation in the energy sector. A first successful dialogue on energy policy at ministerial level between China and Japan was held on April 12, during which the two sides decided to build up cooperation in such respects as energy conservation, petroleum substitutes, and new energy. On May 21 China, the U. S., Russia, Japan and France held an international conference on global nuclear energy partnership and nuclear energy cooperation, at which broad discussions were conducted over the issue of cementing cooperation in the realm of nuclear energy. French President Sarkozy visited China in November, during which the two parties signed an agreement on civilian nuclear energy cooperation. Then, in January 2008, British Prime Minister Brown visited China and the two sides arrived at an extensive consensus on extending bilateral cooperation into such sectors as new energy and clean energy.

2. Climate Security. Most scientists are of the view that in the last 100 years or so, the global climate has experienced a

phenomenal change in the form of global warming. Relevant reports produced by the UN demonstrate that the 20th century stands out to be the warmest 100 years in the past millennium. Global warming has likewise determined a noticeable change in China's climate, with the annual average temperature rising 0.5℃—0.8℃ in the last 100 years. Now the climate security issue presents itself as one of the new challenges confronting mankind, and the solution resides in the concerted efforts of the international community. An event of landmark significance, the UN conference on climate change was held in Bali, Indonesia in December 2007, at which the "Bali road map" was endorsed, specifying the topics and timetable for reining in climate change through the joint efforts of the international community. The Chinese government believes that climate change is both an environmental issue and a development issue, but in essence, it is an issue of development. China adheres to the principle of "common but differentiated liability" as defined in the UN Framework Convention on Climate Change and calls on the developed countries to meet their goal of cutting down emissions as set down in the Kyoto Protocol as early as possible, to render help to the developing countries, and to continue to take the lead in their commitment to reducing emissions after 2012.

At the APEC conference in September 2007, the President of China Hu Jintao floated the four propositions of cooperative efforts in dealing with climate change, sustainable development, recognizing the leading role of the UN Framework Convention on Climate Change, and scientific and technological innovation. At the Bali conference, China presented the proposal that the goal of emissions reduction for the developed countries after 2012 should be decided through negotiation by the end of 2009 at the latest, and the

provision of funds and technological transfer to the developing countries as stipulated in the UN Framework Convention on Climate Change and the Kyoto Protocol should be put into effect. This won the endorsement of all the participating states and was eventually written into the "Bali road-map." At the beginning of 2007, the EU decided to slash its greenhouse gas emissions by 20% by 2020, and the Summit of the G-8 also agreed to consider seriously the proposal of reducing greenhouse gas emissions by at least 50% by 2050 against their 1990 figure. China welcomes and admires this approach and hopes in the meantime that the developed countries will meet their commitments. China's current per capita emissions of carbon dioxide are less than 1/3 of the average level of the developed countries. Nevertheless, motivated by its responsibility to the world, China has been active in fulfilling its international obligations. China has signed such international treaties as the UN Framework Convention on Climate Change and the Kyoto Protocol, and promulgated such policy papers as China's National Climate Change Program which set the objectives by 2010 of trimming 20% of its unit GDP energy consumption against its 2005 figure, and extending forest coverage by 20%. China will continue to take a dynamic part in international cooperation in the field of the climate change, and to make positive endeavors to deal with climate change.

3. Public Health Security. The outbreak of avian flu in 2003 helped to highlight the issue of public health security, and it has figured highly as a concern of the international community ever since. The latest statistics issued by WHO indicate that as of April 17 2008, 381 people had contracted avian flu (H5N1) worldwide, of whom 240 had died. In China, 30 people were infected by avian flu,

taking a toll of 20 lives. The Chinese government pays great heed to the issue of public health security; it has put in place notification mechanisms for reporting serious infectious diseases like avian flu and has stepped up exchange and cooperation with other states in this regard. To promote global public health security and make a greater contribution to the cause of world public health, the Chinese government gave its full support to Dr. Margaret Chan, who was the former assistant director general of WHO and director of public health of the Hong Kong Special Administrative Region, in her candidacy for the post of Director General of the WHO. She was formally elected on November 9 2006, as the sole candidate. China will continue to improve its communication and cooperation with WHO and its cooperation with all the other countries in the field of public health security.

III. Giving Full WeightBoth to Strengthening its Own Security and to International Security Cooperation

For more than100 years stretching from 1840 to 1945, China was subjected to a period of constant external aggression which caused great misery to the Chinese people, and yet, they were not brought to their knees—instead they won a great victory in the war against the aggression of the Japanese fascists. Ever since the establishment of the People's Republic of China, China has directed great attention to building up its own security and has made unrelenting efforts to that end. In recent years, China has been an energetic proponent of the need to discard the traditional cold war mentality and develop a new security concept in keeping with the times. As part of that effort, at the Geneva disarmament

conference on March 26, 1999, China presented for the first time a new security concept with mutual trust, mutual benefit and coordination as its centerpiece. Under the guidance of this new security concept, China has been committed to international security cooperation ever since, and has promoted the idea of securing security by virtue of cooperation, hence making a positive contribution to world peace and stability.

1. Fulfilling its Obligations and Duties Conferred on a Permanent Member of the UN Security Council. Since becoming a permanent member of the UN Security Council, China has devoted itself to defending the authority and role of the UN and to making an active effort to safeguard world peace and stability within the framework of the UN. In dealing with current flashpoints like the Korea Peninsula nuclear issue and the Iran nuclear issue, China has taken an active part in exercising its good offices for a political settlement, and has supported the UN Security Council in endorsing the resolutions 1695 and 1718 on the Korea Peninsula issue on July 15 and on October 14, 2006, and resolutions 1696, 1737, 1747, and 1803 on the Iran nuclear issue on July 31 and December 23, 2006, on March 24, 2007, and on March 3, 2008. This has convincingly demonstrated China's responsible attitude to the issue of nuclear non-proliferation, and paved the way for the eventual peaceful settlement of the Korea Peninsula nuclear issue and the Iran nuclear issue, thereby winning wide international acclaim. China's efforts have been particularly fruitful on the Korea Peninsula nuclear issue in terms of facilitating the issuing of the "9.19 Joint Statement" in 2005 and agreement on the Initial Action for Implementing the Joint Statement in 2007 (the "2.13" joint instrument) and the Second-phase Action for Implementing the Joint Statement (the "10.3" joint

instrument) reached during the six-party talks. As a result, the Korea Peninsula nuclear issue has reached the stage of "action for action".

2. Taking an Active Part in UN Peacekeeping Operations. 1989 was a landmark year, seeing China join a UN peacekeeping operation for the first time. By the end of April 2008, Chinese forces had participated in 18 UN peacekeeping operations involving more than 10,010 of its military personnel. China outnumbers all the other four permanent members of the UN Security Council in terms of committing troops to ongoing UN peacekeeping operations. China's active and positive participation in UN peacekeeping operations has played an important role in safeguarding world peace, and has made sacrifices too with eight of its officers and troops having died in service.

3. Promoting Dialogue and Cooperation inTerms of Regional Security. China played a dynamic and positive role in settling boundary issues with Russia and Central Asian countries like Kazakhstan, Kyrgyzstan, and Tajikistan. The process was subsequently employed to give birth to the "Shanghai Five" mechanism which in time evolved into the Shanghai Cooperation Organization—a new model of regional cooperation that served as a positive example to the international community in boosting regional dialogue and cooperation over security. China has likewise taken a dynamic part in such dialogue mechanisms as "10 + 1" (ASEAN and China), "10 + 3" (ASEAN, China, Japan and ROK) and ASEAN Regional Forum, and indeed played the key role in launching the initiative that led to the establishment of the ASEAN Regional Security Policy Conference in 2003, which has considerably boosted military exchanges and mutual trust among all the parties of the ASEAN

Regional Forum. China has been equally dynamic and active in the dialogue and cooperation launched by APEC, the East Asia Summit, the Eurasia Conference, and Conference on Interaction and Confidence-Building Measures in Asia.

Historically, the Chinese nation has always cherished peace and striven hard for friendly coexistence with other nations. China keeps to the spirit of "when strong, do not abuse the weak" and "when rich, do not affront the poor", and stands for "having all nations live together peacefully." China's basic policy is the road of peaceful development. To do that, we advocate an international security milieu featuring mutual coordination, achieving mutual trust by way of dialogue, resolving disputes by means of negotiation, and seeking stability by virtue of cooperation. Our purpose is to find solutions to the various traditional and non-traditional issues, to deal with the various threats and challenges facing the world, and to create lasting world peace and common prosperity.

Chinese Wisdom in Addressing International Security Issues*

——An exclusive interview with China Social Sciences Today

The world experienced war on an unprecedented scale 65 years ago. More than two billion people in dozens of countries and regions were involved in the conflict, a life-and-death struggle that shaped the destiny of mankind. The flames of war spread across Europe, Asia, Africa, Oceania, the Pacific, the Indian Ocean, the Atlantic Ocean and the Arctic Ocean. The war covered an area of more than 22 million square kilometers, with 110 million troops mobilized by both sides, and it caused the deaths of more than 55 million soldiers and civilians. As the main battlefield against Japanese aggression, China in particular paid a high price in blood, with up to 35 million military and civilian casualties. We recall history in order to move towards a peaceful future. To commemorate the 65th anniversary of

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* This article was an exclusive interview by Zhang Ping, and it was published by *China Social Sciences Today* on August 3, 2010 as one of a series of special articles dedicated to the commemoration of the 65th anniversary of the Victory of World War Ⅱ and World Anti-Fascist War.

the Chinese People's War of Resistance against Japanese Aggression as well as the World Anti-Fascist War, Zhang Ping, a reporter from *China Social Sciences Today* conducted an exclusive interview with General Xiong Guangkai, former Deputy Chief of Staff of the People's Liberation Army. General Xiong is a distinguished military diplomat and expert in international strategic studies. He served as an alternate member of the 14th, 15th, and 16th CPC Central Committee (1992—2007) and was Deputy Chief of Staff (1996—2005). He was conferred the rank of General in 2000. General Xiong took part in the policy-making process of many major diplomatic issues. In the interview, he answered questions regarding the war that ended 65 years ago, the current international situation, and the future prospects for international peace.

Theme of Times: From War and Peace to Peace and Development

Reporter: This year marks the 65th anniversary of the victory of the Chinese People's War of Resistance against Japanese Aggression as well as the World Anti-Fascist War. More than half a century has passed since then. If we look back on that historical period and reexamine the various changes in the international situation since WW II, how would you evaluate this war and China's position in the current international environment?

Xiong Guangkai: Humanity paid a heavy price for WW II. As the main battlefield of the World Anti-Fascist War in the East, China in particular made a huge national sacrifice. However, the victories in the Chinese People's War of Resistance against Japanese Aggression as well as the World Anti-Fascist War were won by

mankind over the most serious security threat. After these great victories, the international environment underwent a gradual shift from "war and peace" to "peace and development." Despite the tense world situation due to the confrontation between the United States and the Soviet Union during the Cold War, the trend of multi-polarization became increasingly obvious, and in the late 1960s and early 1970s, "peace and development" gradually superseded "war and peace" as the main international security trend. In the 1980s, Chinese leader Deng Xiaoping clearly and promptly understood the characteristics of the times and drew the scientific conclusion that peace and development were the two major themes of the contemporary world. Overall, we are still in the wider international context of peace and development.

Reporter: In the light of such a change in the international environment, how do you think the national security concept has changed and what are the underlying reasons for the change?

Xiong Guangkai: National security is fundamental to the survival of any country. In a sense, the national security strategy is an embodiment of the security concept. The traditional national security concept mainly concerns military security, but even before WW Ⅱ, people had already begun to explore new national security concepts. In 1929, British military historian B. H. Liddell Hart proposed the Grand Strategy, which expanded the national security strategy from a purely military one to a more inclusive and modern one covering many aspects such as politics and the economy. After WW Ⅱ, as the international environment shifted from "war and peace" to "peace and development", the traditional national security concept found itself facing increasing challenges, and the new integrated national security concept began to take shape around the world.

The main reason for this change is that military security is no longer the only concern of national security. Despite frequent regional wars and armed conflicts, there has been no traditional world war since the end of WWⅡ. At the same time, non-traditional security threats represented by terrorism have become increasingly prominent, especially since 9/11. In the first half of 2010, for example, there were more than 500 terrorist attacks around the world, killing 2,850 people and injuring 5,492. Of all these attacks, the number that caused more than 100 casualties amounted to 24. Moreover, other new international security issues such as financial security, energy security, climate security, environmental security, and public health security, are also increasingly prominent. In such a context, military security is no longer the only concern of national security, and military strength alone cannot guarantee all the needs of national security, so there is an urgent need for the international community to promote a new integrated national security concept.

New Security Concept: Abandoning "Zero-Sum" Game and Advocating "Win-Win" Cooperation

Reporter: Faced with the new international security situation in which traditional security and non-traditional security are interwoven, what kind of new security concept is China advocating?

Xiong Guangkai: Humanity has experienced numerous wars, and suffered particularly from two world wars and 40 years of Cold War confrontation during the 20th century. In this new century, we are faced not only with traditional security threats, but also with non-traditional security threats such as terrorism. History and reality prove that the use of force cannot bring a fundamental resolution to these disputes and conflicts, and security concepts and systems based

on the use of force or the threat of force will not bring about lasting peace. Against such a background, China's leaders have advocated a new security concept in accordance with the pulse of the times.

In July 1996, at the third ASEAN Regional Forum, Chinese President Jiang Zemin proposed that all countries should abandon the Cold War mentality and work together to foster and promote a new cooperative security concept in accordance with the trend of the times. In 2001, when the Shanghai Cooperation Organization (SCO) was established, China and the other SCO member states jointly advocated a new security concept featuring "mutual trust, mutual benefit, equality and coordination." In 2009, Chinese President Hu Jintao delivered a speech entitled "Unite as One and Work for a Bright Future" to the general debate of the 64th session of the UN General Assembly, in which he stressed again: "We should embrace a new idea of security involving mutual trust, mutual benefit, equality and coordination. While maintaining our own national security, we should also respect the security concerns of other countries and advance the common security of mankind." This is the new security concept that China advocates today.

Reporter: This new security concept responds to the objective requirements of the international situation. But what is the new security concept? Could you give an in-depth and specific analysis?

Xiong Guangkai: First, the new security concept is a comprehensive security concept covering aspects such as politics, the military, the economy, and culture, and its core is "mutual trust, mutual benefit, equality and coordination."

Mutual trust means countries should transcendtheir differences in ideology and social systems, discard the Cold War mentality and power politics, oppose hegemonism, mutual suspicion and mutual

hostility, increase mutual trust through dialogue, and develop cooperative relations between countries on the basis of mutual trust. Mutual benefit means that different countries should adapt to the objective demands of globalization, mutually respect each other's security interests in realizing their own, abandon obsolete "zero-sum" thinking, avoid damage to the interests of other countries in pursuit of their own "absolute security", and try to achieve common security for all countries by playing an active role in international cooperation. Equality means that all countries, big or small, strong or weak, rich or poor, should respect each other as equals. No country should interfere in the internal affairs of other countries or impose its own values and ideology on others. Coordination means that countries should resolve their disputes and conflicts through dialogue, consultation, and peaceful negotiation, and conduct extensive cooperation on security issues of common concern in order to eliminate hidden dangers and prevent war and conflict.

These four principles are complementary and form an organic whole. Mutual trust is the basis of the new security concept; mutual benefit is the purpose of the new security concept; equality is the guarantee of the new security concept; and coordination is the means to realize the new security concept.

Reporter: The new security concept highlights the joint cooperation of the international community. How do the features of the new security concept influence national security strategy as compared with the old one?

Xiong Guangkai: The new security concept influences the national security strategy in a number of new ways. First of all, the old security concept largely equates security with military security, but to counter traditional and non-traditional security threats is a

systematic project, so the use of force alone cannot provide a fundamental solution. However, the new security concept regards security as an integrated whole, including political security, economic security, military security, cultural security, information security, ecological security, and other forms of security.

Second, the old security concept allows a country to seek "absolute security" at the expense of the interests of others, highlighting the interests of only a few major powers or groups of major powers. It regards security as a "zero-sum" game, in which one player's gain (or loss) is exactly balanced by the loss (or gain) of the other player. In contrast, the new security concept features mutual respect for one's own and others' security interests. Every country should create conditions for the security of others in pursuing its own security interests so as to achieve common security on a win-win basis.

Third, the old security concept divides the world into "us" and "them", and tries to strengthen and expand military alliances to exclude "them", thereby creating enemies everywhere. The new security concept, however, seeks to enhance mutual trust, resolve conflict, and ensure security through dialogue and consultation through various multilateral security channels, multilateral security forums, bilateral security consultations, non-official security dialogue, etc.

Fourth, the old security concept seeks security at the expense of the natural environment while the new security conceptstresses comprehensive, coordinated and sustainable development. Overall, the new security concept offers more appropriate principles to deal with a range of security threats, both traditional and non-traditional.

Reporter: The new security concept has its own characteristics in addressing non-traditional security threats. As a proponent of the

new security concept, what specific measures has China adopted in this regard?

Xiong Guangkai: China has been active in international cooperation against terrorism. To begin with, China proposed and participated in the establishment of the SCO, thereby making a significant contribution to regional stability and security. Next, China has started and strengthened anti-terrorism consultation with countries such as the United States, Russia, and Pakistan. In addition, in military affairs China has established mutual trust and carried out cooperation with neighboring countries. From 2002 to 2009, China held 25 joint military exercises and conducted five rounds of joint training with neighboring countries. This year, China held a joint anti-terrorism exercise with Pakistan, and will participate in the joint anti-terrorism exercise under the framework of the SCO in September. In order to counter a range of non-traditional security threats in energy, finance, food, public health and climate change, China has also actively participated in international consultation and dialogue and expressed its readiness to make its own contribution.

National Defense: Promotinga Revolution in Military Affairs to Accomplish Diverse Tasks

Reporter: From a global perspective, how do other countries view the status and role of military security in their national security in the context of the new and integrated national security concept?

Xiong Guangkai: Despite the fact that no new global conflict has broken out since the end of WW Ⅱ, local wars and armed conflicts have never stopped. On average, every year from 1945 to 1989 there were 4. 5 new local wars and armed conflicts. This figure rose to 9. 2

in the decade from 1990 to 1999. In the 21st century, the number of new local wars and armed conflicts is even higher, reaching 14.7 per year. It can be said that the traditional security situation is still grim, and military security still occupies a very important position in national security.

In this context, the major countries have increased defense spending, which provokes further international military escalation with the new revolution in military affairs at the core. For example, for fiscal year 2010, the U.S. defense budget was $636.3 billion, up by 3.97%; Japan's defense budget was 4.7903 trillion yen ($50.96 billion), up by 0.3 percent; Russia's defense budget was 1.25 trillion rubles ($43 billion), up by 3.4%; India's defense budget was 1.4734 trillion rupees ($32 billion), up by 8.3%. Accordingly, the new revolution in military affairs has become a trend characterized by intelligent weaponry and equipment, efficient structures and organizations, automatic command and control, multidimensional battle space, and systematic modes of operation.

Reporter: As a big country, China finds itself in an international environment in which the traditional security situation is still threatening and the world's new revolution in military affairs is unfolding. In light of the new comprehensive security concept, what has China done with regard to the development of its national defense and armed forces?

Xiong Guangkai: Chinese President Jiang Zemin made it clear as early as 2002 that China should react to the revolution in military affairs and actively promote the revolution with Chinese characteristics. This means the following:

- Achieving the two historic objectives of being capable of winning battles and enhancinginformationized defense capabilities;

- Accomplishing the historical tasks of mechanization andinformatization, thereby bringing about step-change development in the modernization of the armed forces;
- Optimizing the military structure and improving the application of high technology to realize the transition from numerically superior to qualitatively efficient, and from manpower-intensive to technology-intensive;
- Adapting to the times and innovating the strategies and tactics of the people's war;
- Appropriately increasing national defense spending and improvingits effective use;
- Implementing the talent strategy toraise the quality military personnel so as to cater to operational needs under informationized conditions.

Reporter: Faced with a complex situation in which traditional and non-traditional security are interlinked, how did China cope with it in the construction of China's national defense and armed forces in accordance with the new comprehensive security concept?

Xiong Guangkai: General Secretary Hu Jintao made a proposal at the 17th National Congress of the Communist Party of China to "enhance the military's capability to respond to various security threats and accomplish diverse military tasks." To this end, China's national defense and armed forces are focusing on the combat capabilities of winning local wars under informationized conditions.

For example, on April 14, 2010, an earthquake measuring 7.1 on the Richter scale struck Yushu, Qinghai, causing more than 2,000 deaths. By 22:00 on April 19, the military and the armed police had deployed 12,798 soldiers and policemen, successfully rescued 1,564 trapped residents, treated 20,047 injured victims, and transported

5,196 tons of tents, food and relief supplies.

Meanwhile, China has also actively engaged in military diplomacy in accordance with the new security concept. First, China has actively developed friendly relations with the militaries of various countries around the world by engaging in high-level visits, strategic consultations, and security dialogue. In 2009, for example, China sent 70 important military delegations abroad, received 30 Defense Ministers and 19 Chiefs of Staff, and held eight bilateral defense and security consultations.

Second, focusing on the maintenance of world and regional security and stability, China has constantlyreinforced pragmatic international military cooperation, such as defense and security cooperation in the form of joint military exercises, and actively participated in United Nations peacekeeping operations. Between 1989, when China participated in a UN peacekeeping operation for the first time, and the first half of 2010, the People's Liberation Army of China has taken part in 18 UN peacekeeping operations and dispatched 15,603 military peacekeeping personnel, of whom nine servicemen have died in the line of duty. Regarding UN peacekeeping operations, China is the largest contributor of troops among the five permanent members of the Security Council.

Third, China has opposed international nuclear proliferation and nuclear terrorism, actively participated in international arms control and verification, faithfully fulfilled its obligations, and actively participated in various forms of international military assistance.

Fourth, great efforts have been made to expand international military exchanges and cooperation and to strengthen academic exchanges between military academies and research institutions.

Currently, the Chinese military has exchanges and cooperation with the military academies of many countries including the United States, Russia, New Zealand, and Thailand.

In conclusion, General Xiong observed that in the World Anti-Fascist War 65 years ago, which was characterized by the struggle between justice and evil, light and darkness, and progress and regression, peoples from various countries united in solidarity, supported each other, fought side by side, and finally achieved victory, hence saving human civilization and bringing world peace. However, traditional security threats have not disappeared from the international arena today, while non-traditional security threats have become yet another global issue. The new comprehensive security concept demonstrates clearly the wisdom, courage and determination of China on international strategic issues. We firmly believe that with the joint efforts of peoples around the world, we will be able to create an environment conducive to lasting peace and common prosperity, which will make human life more rewarding.

China's Security Concept*

Recent years have witnesseda substantial expansion of China's comprehensive national strength, a progressive rise in its international status, and a constant growth in its international influence. China's economic aggregate in 2010 hit $5.88 trillion, accounting for 9.3% of world GDP. However, with its per capita GDP standing at $4,400, China ranks around 100th in the world and remains the world's largest developing country, trailing well behind the developed countries. Therefore, it remains a demanding task for China to attain its goal of becoming a moderately prosperous society in an all-round way by the year of 2020, and to achieve the goal of reaching the level of moderately developed countries by 2050. For this reason, China needs a long-lasting stable international environment, and China will remain committed to the road of peaceful development, i. e. that China will develop itself

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* This article was the opening address given by the author at the international symposium on "International Security Architecture—Perspectives of Europe and China" on September 27, 2011.

through upholding world peace and promote world peace by way of developing itself. Given such a backdrop, a holistic comprehension and deep understanding of China's security concept will surely be conducive to acquiring a more accurate and objective understanding of China's security strategy and foreign policy. To this end, I would like to avail myself of this opportunity to throw some light on China's security concept.

I. Theformation and evolution of China's security concept-progressive development

In pace with the evolution and development of nationaland international security prospects in the past 60-plus years since the founding of the People's Republic of China, China's perception of national security has progressively expanded. The whole process of development is generally divided into two phases. **The first phase spanned** 30 **years prior to reform and opening up**, when the People's Republic was beset with domestic troubles and the threat of foreign invasion—a grave and hostile security landscape on many fronts. The priorities of national security in China then were the three antis: anti-aggression, anti-subversion, and anti-secession. Naturally, defense security stood at the center of China's security concept during that phase. **The second phase refers to the** 30**-plus years of reform and opening up.** Based on developments in the international security situation and the external environment since China launched reform and opening up, the government came to the landmark conclusion that the theme of the modern era would be peace and development. Accordingly, economic development was regarded as the first essential condition for solving international and internal problems, leading to the strategic thinking of ensuring national security by way

of enhancing China's comprehensive strength. On that basis, the national security concept has progressively expanded to cover not only political and military security but also economic security, cultural security, information security, energy security, climate change security, public health security and more. In summary, the national security concept of China today attaches great importance to both traditional and to non-traditional security threats. It stresses enhancing the country's own security and at the same time pays close attention to international security.

II. China promotes a new international security concept advocating mutual trust, mutual benefit, equality and coordination

In the world today, traditional security threats like war andmilitary conflict are still very much apparent, while common security issues have loomed increasingly large in a multipolar world of economic globalization and social informatization. These issues are multinational and unpredictable in character, and they can have a chain effect, hence joint efforts by the international community are required to deal with them. To do this, the Chinese government has created and vigorously lobbied for a new international security concept of **"mutual trust, mutual benefit, equality and coordination".** **"Mutual trust"** here means to go beyond ideology and differences in social systems, and to clear up misunderstandings and iron out differences by way of dialogue so as to avoid erroneous strategic judgments. **"Mutual benefit"** implies that all countries should respect each other's security interests when defending their own interests in order to achieve common security. **"Equality"** refers to mutual respect among all countries and treating all countries equally—be

they weak or strong—since they are all members of the international community so as to facilitate the promotion of democracy in international relations. "**Coordination**" means solving disputes by virtue of peaceful talks and engaging with each other in extensive and deep-going cooperation in addressing security issues of common concern. **The new international security concept promoted by the Chinese government upholds the ideas of common security, comprehensive security and cooperation security**, and calls for dropping the Cold War mentality and promoting equality and coordination on the basis of mutual trust in pursuit of common security and mutual benefit.

III. China takes full part in international security cooperation

Under the guidance of the new international security concept, China sticks to theprinciples of opening up, pragmatism and cooperation, strives to deepen cooperation in international security, enhances strategic coordination and consultation with major world powers and its neighboring countries, steps up and broadens military exchanges and cooperation with the developing countries, and actively participates in such joint operations as the UN peacekeeping operation, counter-terrorism cooperation, and international merchant-ship-escort operation.

Concerning UN peacekeeping operation, by early September 2011, the Chinese military has taken part in 30 UN peacekeeping operations involving 21,000 military personnel. There are currently 1,876 military personnel from China engaged in on-going peacekeeping operations led by the UN, and they are performing duties in 11 task areas, dwarfing the other four permanent members of the UN Security Council in terms of the number of troops deployed.

With regard tocooperation in counter-terrorism, as well as taking a dynamic part in cooperation within the framework of Shanghai Cooperation Organization (SCO), China is also actively engaged in counter-terrorism consultations with the U.S., Canada, Germany, Russia and Turkey. Moreover, China makes constant efforts to enhance bilateral exchange and cooperation with the law enforcement agencies and intelligence departments of countries in South Asia and Southeast Asia.

In terms of international escort operations, as of mid-September 2011, China's military has dispatched nine naval task forces involving 7,600 naval officers and ratings to join the international escort operation in the waters off Somalia. They have provided an escort to more than 4,000 Chinese and foreign merchant ships. China is proactive too in international rescue operations, international arms control, disarmament and anti-proliferation. It has worked closely with the international community in tackling challenges in such areas as financial and economic security, energy security, ecological security and public health security. Facts confirm China's consistent commitment to linking its national security with international security, promoting wide-ranging and in-depth cooperation with all countries including the European countries on the basis of mutual trust, and striving for peace, safeguarding peace, and promoting harmony through cooperation. China has made a substantial contribution to the common security of the international community and the maintenance of world peace and stability.

In this new historical phase, traditional security threats and non-traditional security threats are interlinked, and security has been called upon to cover many more fields. The international community ought to cast aside the outdated "zero-sum game" and

Cold War mentality that has dogged international relations. Practices to be encouraged are further enhancement of comprehensive security, common security and the idea of cooperation security, putting into effect comprehensive policies, seeking both temporary and permanent solutions to issues, joining hands to respond to various challenges to global security, and making concerted efforts to create an international security environment featuring peace and stability, equality and mutual trust, cooperation and win-win for all.

The Evolution of China's Approach to National Security *

I. The development of ourapproach to national security since the founding of the PRC

Ever since the founding of the PRC in 1949, the Communist Party of China (CPC) has placed a premium on national security and accorded it great strategic importance. As a result, astrategy on national security with Chinese characteristics was created, and has subsequently evolved with the times. During the first few years of the PRC, **the first central leadership headed by Mao Zedong** had to ensure the survival of the new government, which was their first priority, before they could build an approach to development. At that time, our perception of the theme of the times could be summarized as "war and revolution." China's view on security was focused on the military and politics, with prominence given to

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"national defense security." **The central issue was the three antis: anti-aggression, anti-subversion, and anti-secession.** It was practiced through military operations for recovering offshore islands, artillery attacks on Jinmen, and the pacification of the rebellion in Tibet as well as the War to Resist U.S. Aggression and Aid Korea (1950—1953) and the self-defense operations on the Sino-Indian border, at Zhenbao Island, and around the Xisha Islands. These operations reflected China's resolve to defend her sovereignty and territorial integrity. Though he never actually used the term in any of his works, Chairman Mao made an indelible and historic contribution to "national security" in both theory and practice.

After the advent of reform and opening up, the second central leadership headed by Deng Xiaoping developed a new perception of the changing times. They arrived at the conclusion that peace and development had become the theme of the times and that a world war could be averted under certain conditions. This modified the previous view that war was inevitable and imminent, and served as the basis for national security policy. Recognizing the critical importance of national security, Deng remarked that "**top priority should always be given to national sovereignty and national security**", which would be the central principle for the defense of the two. He called unequivocally for taking national interests as the highest criterion for foreign relations. As he put it, "No foreign country should expect China to be dependent on them or swallow any bitter pill against our national interests." This marked a new approach to the defense of our national sovereignty and territorial integrity. Thanks to the emphasis on the overriding importance of stability and the prevention of "peaceful evolution", China avoided the consequences of the political upheavals that befell Soviet Union and

Eastern Europe as well as neutralizing the sanctions imposed by the U. S. and other Western countries. This ensured the smooth continuation of reform and opening up. The national security concept was exemplified by the Self-defense War against Vietnam, the operations on the Laoshan border, and the naval battle at Chigua Reef (Johnson Reef) off the Nansha Islands in the 1970s and 1980s. It should be said that **"national security" was a new concept officially adopted by the second central leadership headed by Deng Xiaoping.** It transcends and covers a wider scope than the concept of "national defense security" and, in effect, introduced the issue of traditional and non-traditional security threats to China.

At the turn of the century, in the spirit of "keeping abreast with the times", **the third central leadership headed by Jiang Zemin** was of the opinion that peace and development were still the theme of the times, that it was possible to avert a new world war for the foreseeable future, and that China's security environment would generally remain stable. They decided that China was in a "crucial period of strategic opportunities", which served as a basic precondition for the creation of a favorable national security environment. Jiang enumerated seven areas of security at the Central Economic Work Conference in November 2001. He said that we must "**be sober-minded and vigilant in times of peace, be keenly aware of the utmost importance and urgency of safeguarding the country's political security, economic security and national defense security, and guarantee information security, financial security, and the security of food, oil and other strategic materials.**" This expanded our view to a broader horizon that encompasses all the elements of a comprehensive view on security. In practice, the adoption of the National Security Law of the People's Republic of China in 1993 and

the test launch of missiles during the Taiwan Strait crisis in 1995 and 1996 fully demonstrated China's resolve and ability to defend her territorial integrity.

In the 21st century, **the Central Committee of the CPC headed by General Secretary Hu Jintao** followed the established course and adapted its strategy according to the developments at home and abroad. President Hu's report to the 16th CPC National Congress made the first mention of the concepts of traditional vs. non-traditional security, emphasizing the "**interweaving of the factors of traditional and non-traditional security threat and the rise of terrorism.**" At a conference in January 2005, President Hu drew attention to five major areas: "**We must ensure the state's security in terms of politics, economy, culture, information and national defense.**" At an important internal meeting towards the end of 2009, President Hu said, "**Traditional and non-traditional security threats are interwoven, with the former remaining serious and the latter steadily increasing.**" He added: "**Non-traditional security threats are cross-national, unexpected and inter-linked... Interaction between these and traditional security threats may lead to multi-faceted security problems.**" In fact, many of the security problems in our expanded view fall in the non-traditional category. President Hu also required the military to undertake the historic mission of "three provides and one play" (these are, to provide the force that guarantees the ruling position of the Party; to provide strong security assurance for maintaining the important strategic opportunities of national development; to provide vigorous strategic support for expanding our national interests; to play important roles in maintaining world peace and promoting joint development—*tr.*) for non-combat military operations during the new period in the 21st century, which

laid a solid foundation for effective response to challenges to our national security. In practice, between December 26, 2008 and October 2014, the Chinese navy sent 18 fleets on escort missions in the Gulf of Aden and the waters off Somalia. By August 1, 2014, the Chinese naval fleet had escorted 5,670 ships and rescued, received or assisted more than 60 ships, and maintained a record of 100% safety for the escorted ships and their crews.

The new Central Committee of the CPC headed by General Secretary Xi Jinping, which was elected by the Party's 18th National Congress in November 2012, has enunciated the necessity to "**attach great importance to sea, outer space and cyberspace security, actively plan and manage the employment of military force in peacetime, keep expanding and deepening preparations for military struggle, and enhance the capability of accomplishing diversified military tasks centering on the capacity of winning local wars under informationized conditions.**" The inclusion in this statement of the three areas of sea, outer space and cyberspace in the ambit of our overall approach to security is worthy of great attention. At a key meeting in December 2012, President Xi remarked, "**International and regional unrest, terrorism, piracy and natural disasters—all these can pose a threat to our national security. There are prominent security issues involving our interest abroad, including the security of international markets, overseas energy resources and strategic channels and the security of overseas institutions, personnel and assets.**" On April 15, 2014, at the first meeting of the Central National Security Committee chaired by himself, President Xi set the clear requirement that we must accurately grasp new features of the national security situation and new trends, develop a comprehensive view, and develop an approach to national security with Chinese characteristics.

The overallapproach to national security proposed by President Xi is as follows:

1) The five major elements of security were identified for the first time, with the security of the people as the aim and political security as the foundation, which are based on economic security, supported by military, cultural and social security, and bolstered by the promotion of international security. In my opinion, the priority given to the security of the people is one of the highlights of the overall approach to national security and reflects the idea of "putting people first" and "government for the people." Political security consists of adherence to socialism with Chinese characteristics, without which it would be impossible to develop and reinvigorate China. Economic development is fundamental to national security, as the economic base determines the superstructure. Military security is related to sovereignty and territorial integrity, cultural security requires resistance to the influence of undesirable cultures from abroad, and social security has a direct bearing on standards of living; these three form an important guarantee for national security. With the growing relationship between China and other countries in the era of globalization, China's security and development cannot be guaranteed without stability in her neighboring countries and the international community at large.

2) It involves a national security system that integrates 11 areas of security, namely political, homeland, military, economic, cultural, social, technological, information, ecological, resource and nuclear security. This has greatly expanded the scope of Chinese national security and brought the concept more up to date.

3) It embodies the principle of dialectical unity and "overall consideration and planning." Equal emphasis is placed on external

and internal security, homeland security and the security of the citizens, traditional and non-traditional security, issues about development and those about security, the security of our country and collective security in the international community. It highlights the holistic and systematic nature of national security, and reflects China's strong confidence and resolve in the defense of her national security. This overall approach to national security was proposed under the direct leadership of President Xi as a timely response to both the situation and the popular will. It represents the latest assessment of the national security situation and serves as the general guideline for the strategy. It has further improved our theory and system and made them more scientific. It is of vital importance to overall planning for China's development and efforts to meet security challenges at home and abroad—an essential guarantee for the fulfillment of the Chinese dream and the promotion of national security.

II. The evolution of our approach to international security

The first central leadership headed by Mao Zedong proposed the Five Principles of Peaceful Coexistence. On June 28, 1954, the Chinese premier and the Indian prime minister issued a joint statement, in which the Five Principles (mutual respect for sovereignty and territorial integrity, mutual non-aggression, non-interference in each other's internal affairs, equality and mutual benefit and peaceful coexistence) were put forward as a basic tenet of international relations. Over the past six decades, these Five Principles have not only been the foundation of China's independent foreign policy of peace, but they have also been embraced by the

vast majority of other countries as an important guideline for the regulation of international relations.

The second central leadership headed by Deng Xiaoping carried on and developed the Five Principles of Peaceful Coexistence. On October 31, 1984, Deng emphasized that the Five Principles have withstood the most severe test and should be the criteria for a new international order. He said, "The Five Principles of Peaceful Coexistence is the best approach to state-to-state relations. All the other approaches, such as 'big family', bloc politics, and spheres of influence, are likely to provoke international conflict. A summarization of practical experience in international relations shows that the Five Principles have the greatest vitality." These observations have played an important role in our efforts to promote exchange and cooperation with other countries and improve our external environment.

The third central leadership headed by Jiang Zemin introduced a new approach to security. At the disarmament conference held in Geneva in March 1999, Jiang Zemin proposed for the first time a new view focusing on "mutual trust, mutual benefit, equality and coordination." In a speech delivered on July 1, 2001, he further expounded this view—the first time it was to be enunciated in an important CPC document. It provided a scientific theory and practical guidance for the protection of national security and interests and the creation of a peaceful international security environment in the new period.

The CPC Central Committee headed by General Secretary Hu Jintao carried on and developed the new approach to security. In view of developments in the international community and our neighboring countries in the new century, Hu Jintao remarked, "We must

continue to advocate the new approach to security featuring mutual trust, mutual benefit, equality and coordination, continue to maintain friendly relationships with all countries in accordance with the Five Principles of Peaceful Coexistence, and continue to conduct exchange and cooperation with them on the basis of equality and mutual benefit. We must help to create a new international political and economic order that is fair and just." This important statement brought the new approach to security up to date and provided essential guidance for an effective approach to international security issues.

The new CPC Central Committee headed by Xi Jinping has contributed new statements and ideas. On April 7, 2013, during his speech at the Bo'ao Forum for Asia, President Xi made some insightful remarks: "As we share the same global village, we should be deeply aware that we live in a community of common destiny, follow the trend of the times, grasp the correct orientation, continue to help each other in difficult times, and help to bring about the progressive development of Asia and the world as a whole... . The international community should promote the concept of comprehensive, common and cooperative security so that our global village will become a great stage for cooperation in development rather than an arena for competition in strength." On May 21, 2014, during the fourth CICA Summit, President Xi presented for the first time a "common and comprehensive" approach to security in Asia characterized by "cooperation and sustainability. " As he explained, "Common means that we must respect and ensure the security of every country; comprehensive means the maintenance of security in both traditional and non-traditional areas through overall planning; cooperation denotes the promotion of security in each

country and the whole region through dialogue and working together; sustainability refers to lasting security through equal emphasis on security and development. " He emphasized that we must" innovate the security concept, build a new framework for regional security and cooperation, and develop an approach to security in Asia featuring joint efforts, sharing and mutually beneficial results. " These latest statements represent further innovation and development for China's approach to international security and reflect President Xi's broad strategic vision and profound strategic thinking.

III. The development and improvement of our national security system and mechanisms

The expansion of our views on national security has been accompanied by the development of the relevant systems and mechanisms. In 1999, a number of security-related issues arose: the surrounding of Zhongnanhai by Falungong members, the bombing of the Chinese embassy in Yugoslavia by the United States, and Lee Teng-hui's "two states" theory. The complex problems of domestic security and stability, the challenges from Taiwan, and the major security incident involving the U.S. led the CPC Central Committee to realize that the original system in which security issues were dealt with by different departments was no longer adapted to dealing with the developing situation. **After careful deliberation, the CPC Central Committee formally decided to establish the Central Leading Group for National Security (CLGNS) in** 2000, **which would be headed by General Secretary Jiang Zemin.** Upon establishment, the group clearly defined its responsibility as coordinating efforts to deal with all national security issues (except for economic security) under the

leadership of the Standing Committee of the Central Political Bureau. Economic security would be the responsibility of the Central Leading Group for Financial and Economic Work under the leadership of the same Standing Committee. After taking office as the General Secretary, President Hu Jintao served as the head of the CLGNS. I was one of its members from 2000 till 2005. It had a unit for handling its daily affairs, which was known to the public as the Central Foreign Office or the Foreign Office of the State Council. To my colleagues and me, it was the CLGNS Office.

On November 12, 2013, at the Third Plenary Session of the 18th Party Central Committee, the decision was made to establish the **Central National Security Commission (CNSC), which is charged with the overall planning and coordination of major activities and efforts related to national security.** At a meeting of the Central Political Bureau on January 24, 2014, Xi Jinping was appointed as the chief of the CNSC, with Li Keqiang and Zhang Dejiang as his deputies and a number of members and executive members under them. This marked the creation of China's top-level mechanism responsible for comprehensive security at home and abroad as well as the formulation of national strategy. This major strategic decision made by the CPC Central Committee in national security has been of great significance to the protection of our interests in terms of security and development and the achievement of the Two Centenary Goals. It is necessary to emphasize that the Central Military Commission's control over the armed forces has never changed.

Section Four

Historical Mission and China's Military Development

Maintain World Peace and Promote Common Development: A Historic Mission of the PLA*

Today, as the Chinese economy growsrapidly and the overall national power of China continues to strengthen, the international community often focuses its attention on the development of China's defense capabilities and the modernization of the PLA. China is a peace-loving nation. As is always stressed by Chinese leaders on important occasions both at home and abroad, China has chosen and remains resolutely committed to the path of peaceful development. The development of China needs an international environment of lasting stability and peace. In order to achieve such a peaceful international environment and secure the nation, China promotes the coordinated development of national defense and its economy, as well as military modernization. Its efforts are never intended to constrain or threaten other parties; but rather to make an important contribution to world peace and stability. However, whether due to

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* This article was the speech delivered by the author at the international academic conference hosted by China Institute of International Studies on March 20, 2006.

a lack of understanding or for other motives, elements from outside China have recently begun to express suspicion over our military development program. Some have even disseminated suggestions about the China Threat, and particularly the Military Threat, both of which serve to mislead the public. In response, today I would like to talk about China's defense expenditure, its defense policies, and the PLA's contribution to world peace and common development. My presentation is under the general title of Maintaining World Peace and Promoting Common Development: A Historic Mission of the PLA. It comes in three parts:

I. China's defense expenditure is moderate

China is a developing country. Since reform and opening up, the Chinese government has constantly focused on economic growth, a fact that is reflected in the preparation of its defense budget. From 1979 to 2006, the ratio of our defense expenditure as part of the total state budget has continued to drop. In 1979, it was about 17.37%; in 2006, it is 7.4%. It has therefore fallen by 10 percentage points during the period concerned. In recent years, China has moderately increased its defense expenditure in absolute terms, on the basis of a growing economy and a growing state budget. Having said that, however, our financial input to national defense remains moderate and limited. As planned, the defense budget in 2006 is just over 280.729 billion yuan, or $35.1 billion, rising by 14.7% over the previous year.

Despite the moderate increasein the defense budget in recent years, as a huge country with a land border of 22,000 km, a coastline of 18,000 km, a population of 1.3 billion people and a

military that is 2.3million-strong, the Chinese defense budget is fairly small in world terms, whether considered in absolute value, in expenditure per-service person, or in percentage of GDP or of state expenditure.

Let us look first at the absolute figure. The defense budget of China in 2005 was $30.2 billion. In the same year, those of the U.S., the UK, Japan, and France were respectively $422 billion, $48.8 billion, $45.3 billion and $36.5 billion. The Chinese defense budget was only 7% of the American, 62% of the British, 67% of Japanese, and 83% of the French budget. In 2006, the Chinese defense budget is $35.1 billion, the American is $441.5 billion and the Japanese $45 billion. Again, our defense budget is only 7%—8% of the American, or 78% of the Japanese defense budget.

Secondly, per-service person expenditure. In 2006, only $15,000 are allocated to each of the 2.3 million PLA servicemen and women. In the U.S., the per-service person defense expenditure is $318,000, more than 20 times higher than the Chinese. In the case of Japan, it is $163,000, 10 times higher than ours.

Thirdly, the weight ofthe defense budget against GDP and state expenditure. The Chinese defense budget in 2005 represented 1.36% of our GDP, while in the U.S., it was 3.6%; in the UK, 2.59%, and in France, 1.98%. Also in 2005, our defense budget was 7.34% of total state expenditure that year; the US, 17.8%; France, 11.4%; and Germany, 9.25%.

The risein the defense budget serves the following purposes. First, to sustain the PLA and provide a better standard of living. As China's economy keeps growing and standards of living rise, it is necessary to provide higher pay and better welfare to PLA

personnel. Since reform and opening up, the Chinese economy has grown by more than 9% annually. By 2005, GDP had reached 18.2321 trillion yuan, or about $2.2257 trillion. The disposable income of the urban population was 10,493 yuan, leaping by 9.6% against the previous year. With this economic growth and social progress, and the rise in incomes of both urban and rural populations, PLA personnel also deserve higher rewards. It is recognized that we should try our best to adjust the financial restraints on our service people and improve their quality of life.

Second, ensurethat the process of informatization moves forward. There has been a revolution in military affairs around the world, and the developed countries are all stepping up their efforts to build information-based forces. However, for the time being the PLA remains a mechanized and semi-mechanized force. Its informatization process is still at an early stage, and left far behind by the militaries of developed countries. Therefore, a gradual moderate rise in funding is necessary to support the long-term objective of step-transformation from a mechanized and semi-mechanized force to an informationized one, and to improve the capabilities of the PLA to fight and win information-based defensive wars.

Third, increase thefunding for the development of quality military personnel. This year, we will raise the financial input to PLA educational institutions and training programs and improve their learning environment and training support, so as to attract and retain the best people. In addition, in order to encourage the best people in the society to serve in the military, we will allocate more funds to educating officer candidates in non-military universities.

Fourth, cope with the rising price of oil for defense purposes. The oil price on international market continued to rise during the

past year. On August 29, 2005 on the New York market, the price of crude oil futures during Asian trading hours hit a new record high of $70.80 per barrel, skyrocketing from $43.35 per barrel in 2004—a rise of 63%. Although the oil price thereafter continued to fluctuate, it has remained at a relatively high level of around $60 per barrel for a considerable period. The consumption of oil for defense purposes is high, and for sure the elevated oil price dramatically inflates the cost of oil supplies to the military. In addition, retail prices keep growing in China. In 2004, the retail price index rose by 3.9% over the previous year; and in 2005, by 1.8%. Given such changes, the actual increase of the Chinese defense budget is limited indeed.

Today, the core task of China is to develop its economy and raise the living standards of its people. Development is our top priority. China's defense expenditure has been rather small and limited. In compliance with the Defense Law of the People's Republic of China, the Chinese government has incorporated defense budgeting into the national budgeting process. Having been examined and approved by the National People's Congress, the defense budget is managed as stipulated in the Budgeting Law of the People's Republic of China. Some voices from outside China express skepticism about our publicly-announced defense budget, blaming us for hiding the truth, saying that the actual defense budget of China is two to three times higher than what we have claimed. If such assumptions were true, the Chinese defense budget would make up 20% of the national expenditure, which is simply beyond imagination and would be unbearable to our economy and the government. There is absolutely no need for China to throw so much of its limited resources into an unlimited arms race. Similarly, it would be impossible

and unnecessary to build up the military at the cost of the well-being of the people. Given these factors, the rise of the Chinese defense expenditure is open, transparent and moderate.

II. The defensive nature of China's national defense policy is transparent

Since the founding of the People's Republic in 1949, China has unswervingly pursued a national defense policy that is defensive in nature. This is determined by such factors as China's national interests, its social system, its foreign policy, and its historical and cultural traditions.

The stipulation by the Chinese Constitution with regard to the armed forces' basic duty fully demonstrates the defensive nature ofour national defense policy. As a developing socialist country, the social system, development path and strategy chosen by China will not result in a desire for invasion and expansion, nor will they lead to an expansionist military policy. As the country's fundamental law, the Constitution entrusts the armed forces with the basic duty of "strengthening national defense, resisting aggression, defending the motherland, safeguarding the people's right to work in peace, participating in national construction, and working to serve the people." In modern times, China has been subjected to numerous foreign aggressions and suffered a great deal of victimization and humiliation. An important lesson learned by the Chinese people from their historical experience is that we must always give top priority to the protection of state sovereignty and territorial integrity, and the maintenance of national security and unification. To defend the motherland, resist aggression, maintain national unification, and oppose separation are the basic objectives of

China's defense policy, and at the same time the defensive duty entrusted to the Chinese armed forces by the Constitution.

China's leadership has been explicit and consistent in upholding the defensive nature of the national defense policy. The splendid 5, 000-year-old Chinese civilization has rooted a philosophy of loving peace, opposing war, treasuring friendship and resisting aggression deep in our nation's ideological and cultural traditions. Past and present generations of leadership all stress the importance of peaceful coexistence and pursue a national defense policy that is defensive in nature.

Even before the founding of the PRC, Chairman Mao Zedongadvocated the principle of self-defense, namely "we will not attack unless we are attacked." When meeting a foreign guest in September 1956, he noted, "The Chinese people are peace-loving. We regard aggression as a crime and will never take a single inch of land or a blade of grass from other countries." In the 1970s he generated the strategic concept that China will "never seek hegemony." Chairman Deng Xiaoping reiterated this thinking and made "opposing hegemonism and maintaining world peace" China's state policy. During his inspection tour to South China in February 1992, he stressed again that "socialist China should show the world through its actions that China opposes hegemonism and power politics and will never seek hegemony. China is a staunch force for world peace."

Ina speech during his historic visit to the United States in October 1997, President Jiang Zemin stated that "China's national defense policy is defensive in nature. Our defense expenditure is the lowest of all large countries. China's development will not pose a threat to any other country. Even when China becomes fully

developed in the future, we will never seek hegemony." In a report delivered on November 8, 2002 at the 16th National Congress of the Communist Party of China, he reiterated that "a new security concept featuring mutual trust, mutual benefit, equality and coordination should be established. Countries should resolve disputes through dialogue and cooperation rather than resort to force or the threat of force. We oppose all forms of hegemonism and power politics. China will never seek hegemony or expansion."

At the end of 2004, President Hu Jintao solemnly stated that the Chinese armed forces should providethe guarantee for the Party to consolidate its governing status, ensure security for the important window of strategic opportunity for national development, provide powerful strategic support for safeguarding national interests, and play an important role in preserving world peace and promoting common development. The consistent statements of China's leadership testify to the defensive nature of our national defense policy.

China's armed forces have consistently pursued a defensive national defense policy since the founding of the PRC. China has never launched any aggressive war or engaged in military expansion. It has never joined any military bloc, nor does it participate in arms races or set up military bases abroad.

It is worth mentioning that since the 1980s, the Chinese government has unilaterally cut its armed forces several times. In 1985, it decided to reduce the forces byone million personnel. In 1997 it further cut the military by 500,000 over three years. And in 2003 it pledged to reduce another 200,000 over two years. These three major reductions brought the size of the PLA down to 2.3 million. The range and scale of China's unilateral cuts to its armed

forces in a matter of 18 years is exceptional in the history of world disarmament. It fully demonstrates the sincere wish of the Chinese government and the PLA to safeguard peace and has won widespread acclaim from the international community.

History and reality have proved time and again that the defensive nature of China's defense policy is genuine and sincere, as it conforms to China's fundamental, long-term interests as well as the trend of the times featuring peace, development and cooperation. It also serves the interests of other countries and regions. It is not a policy of expediency. For over a century from the Opium war in 1840 to the founding of new China in 1949, the Chinese people suffered a great deal from war. Almost all the western powers invaded China. As victims of war, the Chinese people cherish peace most and war is the thing they least desire. But no person and no country will be allowed to impose war on China, otherwise we will resolutely fight back in self-defense. This is the true meaning of China's defensive national defense policy.

III. The PLA has made an outstanding contribution to safeguarding world peace

China adheres to the path of peaceful development. While defending national sovereignty and security, the PLA has consistently taken it asa core mission to promote world peace and common development. In recent years, the PLA has actively implemented the Chinese government's independent foreign policy of peace, and engaged in developing military cooperative relations that are non-aligned, non-confrontational, and not directed against any third party. The PLA takes part in UN peacekeeping operations and cooperates in international counter-terrorism, and establishes

military security dialogue mechanisms, thereby playing an important role in promoting world peace and regional security.

The PLA actively participates in UN peacekeeping operations. Since its first dispatch of military observers to UN peacekeeping operations in 1990, China has consistently supported and intensified its participation in peacekeeping operations led and implemented by the UN. By the end of February 2006, the PLAhad sent more than 4,500 of its forces to 14 UN peacekeeping operations, including over 3, 900 peacekeeping troops, 900 military observers, and a complement of staff officers. At present, 875 personnel from the Chinese armed forces are carrying out missions in eight UN task areas, among them 776 peacekeeping troops, and 91 military observers and staff officers. In terms of ongoing peacekeeping operations led by the UN, China is the largest contributor of peacekeeping troops among the five permanent members of the UN Security Council. At the request of the UN and with the approval of the State Council and the Central Military Commission, the PLA will shortly send 640 peacekeeping troops, military observers and staff officers to UNMIS and UNIFIL. Upon completion of the deployment, the total number of Chinese military personnel fulfilling UN peacekeeping missions abroad will exceed 1,500. Since first joining in UN peacekeeping operations, Chinese personnel have strictly adhered to the UN authorization and abided by their duties, worked hard and accomplished notable successes in the missions entrusted by the UN. They have won great acclaim and fully demonstrated the PLA's good image as a force of might, civilization and peace. They have therefore made many important contributions to world peace and regional stability. During that period, seven Chinese servicemen have lost their lives—sacrificed for the realization

of peace. These are the most distinguished representatives of the Chinese military forces who take defending world peace as their responsibility. To recognize the contributions made by China's forces to world peace, the UN Secretary-General awarded the Hammarskjold Medal to the seven fallen Chinese service personnel.

The PLA engagesvigorously in international security cooperation. China supports and actively participates in the international battle against terrorism within multilateral frameworks including the UN. It endeavors to enhance cooperation with other countries concerned. Our armed forces have strengthened border management and control, aiming to prevent the infiltration and flight of terrorists, which has contributed to the international counter-terrorism effort. The PLA vigorously participates in regional security dialogue and cooperation. We pushed forward the establishment of Defense Ministers' meeting mechanism in the Shanghai Cooperation Organization (SCO), hosted the Defense Seminar among SCO member countries, and held the first SCO Defense Security Forum on November 7, 2005. The PLA has attended all official activities organized by the ASEAN Regional Forum (ARF) since 1995. In particular, it actively initiated and hosted the first ARF Security Policy Conference from November 4 to 6, 2004, which gave impetus to the in-depth development of the ARF dialogue mechanism. The PLA has also taken an active part in the various activities of multilateral security dialogue mechanisms such as the West Pacific Naval Forum, Northeast Asia Cooperation Dialogue, and Asia-Pacific Security Cooperation Council. To strengthen mutual understanding and trust between the PLA and other militaries, the PLA started senior-level strategic consultations with foreign militaries from the mid-1990s. In 1997, China and Russia established a strategic consultation

mechanism between the two General Staff Headquarters and have held nine rounds of consultations by 2005. In the same year, China and the U.S. formed a vice-defense-ministerial defense consultative talks mechanism and conducted seven rounds of consultations. To date, the PLA has established and maintained senior-level strategic consultations with 13 militaries, including Russia, the U. S., the UK, France, Germany, Japan, Australia, Mongolia, Thailand, the Philippines, Pakistan, Kyrgyzstan, and Kazakhstan. All these strategic consultations contribute positively to enhancing confidence and dispelling suspicions between Chinese and foreign militaries, and to stabilizing and developing bilateral military-to-military relations.

The PLA takes an active part in multilateral and bilateral joint exercises. Since 2002, the PLA has conducted 10 joint exercises with foreign militaries. In October 2002, China and Kyrgyzstan held the first bilateral counter-terrorism joint exercise. In August 2003, China, Russia, Kazakhstan, Kyrgyzstan and Tajikistan conducted the first multilateral counter-terrorism exercise within the framework of the SCO. In August 2004, the armed forces of China and Pakistan conducted the first high-altitude counter-terrorism joint exercise. In particular, the armed forces of China and Russia held for the first time the largest ever joint exercise between Chinese and foreign militaries from August 18 to 25, 2005. The PLA has conducted joint maritime search and rescue exercises witheach of Pakistan, India, France, the UK and Australia. Meanwhile, the Chinese military is proactive in opening access to its internal exercises. In November 2000, the PLA invited foreign officers for the first time to observe an internal exercise. Since then, five subsequent exercises have been opened to foreign militaries. On September 27, 2005, the PLA invited military personnel from 24

countries, including the U. S. and Russia, to observe the North Sword 2005 large-scale exercise held in the Zhurihe drill base for the first time. This exercise involved the largest number of foreign observer countries so far. All the above-mentioned exercises have vigorously strengthened military exchanges and cooperation between the PLA and other militaries.

The PLA has also takenan active part in international humanitarian aid activities. The PLA has established a rescue and relief contingency mechanism. In the wake of the Indian Ocean Tsunami in December 2004, the hurricanes in the southern part of the U.S. in August 2005, and the severe earthquake in South Asia in October 2005, the PLA swiftly put into operation this mechanism, and undertook the emergency mission of mobilizing and transporting relief materials to the affected countries. It has led the field in sending relief goods and materials to the affected areas on many occasions, thereby winning high praise from the governments and peoples of these countries.

The PLAhas taken safeguarding world peace and promoting common development as one of its core missions in the past, and will continue to do so in the future. It will never deviate from a national defense policy that is defensive in nature, and will always seek to secure coordinated development of national defense and the economy, to constantly enhance friendly exchanges and cooperation with other militaries, and to further a military security environment featuring mutual trust and mutual benefit, so as to make new and greater contributions to world peace and common development.

The Main Inscriptions and Directives of the Five Leaders of the People's Republic of China, and their Guiding Thoughts on China's Military Development *

The People's Liberation Army (PLA) is the armed force of the Chinese people under the absolute leadership ofthe Communist Party of China (CPC). The Party's leadership is the unchanging soul of PLA, an important component of the basic military system and the national political system. The creation and development of the people's army record a history in which, under the CPC leadership, it overcame powerful domestic and foreign enemies, grasped power, consolidated national defense, and continued to evolve in form, organization, and mission.

In March 2014, with the approval of the Central Military Commission (CMC) of the Communist Party of China and CMC Chairman Xi Jinping, important inscriptions and directives from

* This article consists of some part of the lectures given by the author in State Administration of Science, Technology and Industry for National Defense, Tsinghua University and the PLA University of International Studies in 2014.

Mao Zedong, Deng Xiaoping, Jiang Zemin, Hu Jintao and Xi Jinping were hung in all meeting rooms of CPC committees and branches at different levels of the PLA troops and the Armed Police. This decision of CMC Chairman Xi is an important measure to strengthen the theoretical and political development of our armed forces, and bears vital significance in creating a sound political environment and providing clear theoretical guidance, in generating positive energy around respect for the Party, in building a powerful country and a strong army, and in stimulating the morale and fighting spirit of our troops, promoting their combat effectiveness, and ensuring their capacity to fight and win. Of all the inscriptions and directives of the above five leaders, one lasting thought is of absolute loyalty to the Party. They all define the army as a fighting force and emphasize the nature and purpose of the people's army. Meanwhile, they reflect innovation and development under historical changes as well as evolving domestic and foreign conditions, and point out the direction for our national defense and military development at different times.

Introduction: adherence to the absolute leadership of the Party is the unchanging essence of military development

As the armed forces responsible for implementing the political missions of the ruling Communist Party, the PLA since its creation has upheld the banner of the Party as its banner and the Party's missions as its missions. Adherence to the absolute leadership of the Party over the armed forces is the foundation on which it is built and achieves its victories. On July 23, 1921, the Communist Party of China held the first National Party Congress in Shanghai, an epoch-making event in the history of China. On August 1, 1927, it

launched and led the Nanchang Uprising, initiating the cause in which the Chinese people under the independent CPC leadership took up armed revolution against the armed reactionaries. The people's army was created in the Nanchang Uprising, the Party's organization was established at regimental level and above, and it was stipulated that "the Party's organization is the origin of all organizations" and "the role of the Party is above everything."

On September 29, 1927, after leading the Autumn Harvest Uprising at Hunan-Jiangxi Boundary, Mao Zedong organized "the Sanwan Reorganization" at Sanwan Village, Yongxin County, Jiangxi Province, creating a whole set of brand new strategies on governing troops including "the Party commands the gun", "the Party branch is established at the company level", and "equality between officers and men." He realized the direct command of the Party over the soldiers both politically and organizationally, ensured the absolute leadership of the Party over the troops, and laid the foundation of "building the army politically."

On December 28, 1929, Gutian Meeting was held in Gutian Village, Shanghang County, Fujian Province, which stipulated that the establishment of the Party leading center in the Red Army "was one of the major principles of the Party organization in the army", thus setting a series of basic principles, regulations and measures regarding the leadership of the Party over the army at a political, theoretical, and organizational level. Under the guidance of this principle, our Party gradually developed the idea and practice of establishing base areas in the rural areas, encircling the cities from the rural areas, and seizing power by armed force. It led army building and development, defeated strong and superior forces with weaker and inferior forces, carried out with success the people's war

on a grand scale, overwhelmed strong enemies from both within and without, and founded the new China. Since then, despite dramatic changes in organizational structure, missions and tasks, and the social environment, the Party's leadership over the army as a fundamental principle has always remained unshaken. The history of the past 80 years and more shows that it is under the strong leadership of our Party that our army has managed to achieve constant growth and development in the face of numerous difficulties and dangers, has steadily won one victory after another, and has become an important force that can effectively safeguard the sovereignty, security, and territorial integrity of our country.

1. Important inscriptions of Comrade Mao Zedong

On March 5, 1938, MaoZedong issued this important inscription to the Chinese People's Anti-Japanese Military and Political College: **"A firm and correct political orientation, an industrious and simple style of work, and flexible strategy and tactics."** This inscription became the guiding principle for education in the college. The inscription was inspired by a number of requirements: **First, the need to cultivate talented military commanders.** In April 1936, after the Red Army arrived in northern Shaanxi at the end of the Long March, Mao decided to continue running the former China Red Army College in the Jiangxi Base Area. On June 1 of the same year, under the direct guidance of Mao Zedong, the Chinese People's Anti-Japanese Red Army College (the Red Army College in short) was established, becoming the first school year of the Anti-Japanese College. In January 1937, organizations of the Party Central Committee were moved from Bao'an to Yan'an, and the Red Army College was also moved there accordingly. At that time, the Anti-

Japanese National Salvation Movement was surging forward, and the educated youth from different places traveled to Yan'an, which presented to the Party the new task of educating and cultivating the educated youth. In accordance with directives from the Party Central Committee and Mao Zedong, the Central Military Commission officially changed the name of the Red Army College to Chinese People's Anti-Japanese Military and Political College. Apart from continuing to train the Red Army cadres, the college also took on the key task of training the revolutionary educated youth. In view of the increasing number of cadets and the growing scale of the college, the Central Military Commission set up the Anti-Japanese College Education Committee—with Mao Zedong himself as its chairman who directly led the work of education and development of the college. Faced with new situations and new tasks, in order to produce more talented commanders and clarify the orientation of the Anti-Japanese College, Mao Zedong himself wrote the inscription for it. In April 1938, Mao further wrote four words (eight Chinese characters) for the college—"(Be) united, alert, earnest and lively." (Tuanjie, Jinzhang, Yansu, Huopo), which became the college motto.

Second, the need to clarify the Party's absolute leadership over the army. The guiding principle for education and the motto of the Anti-Japanese College were also gradually established in Mao's struggle against flawed ideas like Wang Ming's opportunist line. At that time, the opportunist line as represented by Wang proposed ideas such as "the Three Principles of the People (Nationalism, Civil Liberties, the People's Livelihood) are an important course of the Anti-Japanese College" and "it is the foundation for political solidarity of the Anti-Japanese College", and attempted to deny the

Party's leadership of the army, and to run the college as an ordinary united front school. To combat this erroneous line, Mao Zedong reiterated that the Anti-Japanese College was not a united front college, and instead it was the cadre's college of the Eighth Route Army under the Party's leadership. Mao himself also led cadres and cadets of the college in the struggle between the two lines of thought within the Party at the time, and gave speeches in the college several times. In a simple but profound style he explained and criticized Wang Ming's opportunist line with great passion. As a result of Mao's efforts, the Anti-Japanese College effectively resisted Wang Ming's interference and disruption, implemented the educational guidelines laid down by Mao himself, and stuck to the correct political orientation. Mao's inscription offered the direction that our army under the Party's leadership shall always remain committed to the ideas of people's war and people's army, and played an important role in establishing and defending state political power.

2. Important inscriptions of Comrade Deng Xiaoping

On August 1, 1987, Deng Xiaoping inscribed "**strive to build our army into a powerful, modern and regularized revolutionary armed force**" for the "Exhibition of PLA Army Building Achievements in the New Historical Period" held in the Military Museum of the Chinese People's Revolution. In 1981, I attended a one-year crash course in the Department of Advanced Studies of a military academy. I understand that in fact Deng officially brought forth this idea of military development as early as 1981. The turn of 1970s and 1980s witnessed important historical transitions in international politics and in the domestic situation in China. The third Plenary Session of the 11th CPC Central Committee made decisive strategic

decisions to shift the focus of the Party from class struggle to economic construction, and vitality could be found everywhere in national construction and social development. However, what kind of army should be built in the new era? How to build it? What kind of wars would be fought in the future? How to fight? All these penetrating and serious questions pressed on our Party and the army, demanding scientific responses.

It was against this backdrop that on September 17, 1980 the Central Military Commission held what was called the 801 meeting—the Senior Military Officers Seminar. Deng Xiaoping delivered an important speech laying out the "active defense" strategic military policy, and stressing the role of strong defense, i.e., defense took the lead, with offense as a supportive means. This policy required building our army into a strong and modern armed force. Deng's speech unified public understanding on military strategy in the new era. After the 801 meeting, the Headquarters of the General Staff proposed a tentative plan to organize a front army defense exercise somewhere in North China. In March 1981, after listening to a report about the plan, Deng commented that "It (the exercise) should be organized well, so as to boost the morale of the army and train the army into what an army should be." Taking the overall picture of national and military development into consideration, Deng decided to implement large-scale live-fire military exercises, with the aim of turning things around, boosting the morale of the army, restoring the prestige of the army, and setting military development on a sound track towards modernization. The North China military exercise was held from September 14 to 18, 1981. It was the largest in scale of its kind since the foundation of the People's Republic of China, the first front-army scale strategic

campaign exercise, and the first major event administered by Deng since taking office as the CMC Chairman in June of the same year.

The exercise gave full play to the idea of mighty and persistent defense—the gist of the active defense guideline. On September 19, after the military parade, Deng delivered an important speech on behalf of the Party Central Committee and theCentral Military Commission, and pointed out: "**As a strong pillar of our people's democratic dictatorship, the army is entrusted with the glorious mission of defending our socialist motherland and China's four modernizations. We must therefore make it a powerful, modern and regularized revolutionary army.**" At this point, after being undermined by the ten-year turmoil of the Cultural Revolution, our army re-established the "three defining features" as the general objective of military development, which signified that our military development in the new era brought order out of chaos in its fundamental orientation and that Deng Xiaoping's ideas on military development in the new period came into being.

Among the "three defining features", revolutionary is the prerequisite, regularized is the insurance, and modern is the center. The Party's leadership remains the unchanging essence of our army, and we cannot give preference to "modern" over "revolutionary." Army modernization in that period was to become mechanized, and two mechanized armies—the 38th Army and the 39th Army were created.

3. Important inscriptions of Comrade Jiang Zemin

On April 16, 1996, Jiang Zemin issued the important inscription "**Be qualified politically and competent militarily, and have a fine style of work, strict discipline and adequate logistical support.**" This represented an innovative development of Deng Xiaoping's military

thoughts in the new period, and also clarified the general requirement for military development in the new period. The inscription was designed in a unified way by the General Political Department, and was printed and issued to the whole army together with inscriptions of Mao Zedong and Deng Xiaoping before Army Day that year, and hung or posted in units above company level.

In fact, Jiang Zemin had proposed these five phrases as early as the military work conference held on December 1, 1990. At the turn of the 1980s and 1990s, the historical demands placed on our national defense and military development were subject to profound change. A worldwide revolution in military affairs was taking place. High-tech war was becoming a feature of local conflicts, and international military competition contended for qualitative high-tech advantage. Jiang Zemin pointed out: "**As for military development in the new period, I always direct my attention to two most important questions: one, amidst the complex international environment, whether our army can keep up with the trend of military development in the world and win possible high-tech warfare in the future; the other, under the conditions of socialist market economy and our opening up to the world, whether our army can maintain the nature, character and style of an army of the people, and always remain as the revolutionary army under the absolute leadership of the Party".**

We can say that Jiang's ideas about national defense and military development are developed around the two historical issues of "winning battles and never degenerating", and all Jiang-led practices have taken the handling of these two historical issues as the basic starting point and ultimate goal. On May 22, 1995, the Clinton Administration of the United States announced that it would allow then Taiwan leader Lee Teng-hui to pay a private visit to the

United States, which placed severe strain on Sino-U. S. relations and the situation across the Taiwan Strait, and acted as a further trigger to the Taiwan Strait crisis. From July 1995 to March 1996, to fully demonstrate to the world our determination and our capability in safeguarding our territorial and sovereignty integrity, our army carried out a series of military exercises, and conducted separate missile tests in the East China Sea and South China Sea, which achieved the intended effect of deterring the "Taiwan independence" separatists and U.S.-led western hostile forces.

As a leader of the Headquarters of the General Staff at that time, I experienced all this in person. The crisis highlighted the importance of building a strong and powerful army. Against this background, Jiang decided to make the "five phrases" the important inscription hung and posted in units above the company level in the whole army. **The "five phrases" grasp the five basic elements including politics, military affairs, work style, discipline, and support which directly impact the capacity to generate force.** They highlight the close connections among different aspects of military development, cover the basic content of military development in new situations, **and put the work of the army onto the track of building modern, regularized, revolutionary armed forces. They prove to be competent general guidelines, both practical and operable.** Under Jiang's leadership, in 1997, our country formulated the "three-step" strategic vision regarding national defense and army modernization in the new century, paid special attention to the two-phase 995 Project, and proposed to vigorously advance revolution in military affairs with Chinese characteristics. As a result, we made considerable progress towards our goals.

4. Important directives of Comrade Hu Jintao

On December 24, 2008, Hu Jintao proposed at an enlarged CMC meeting that concentrated on strengthening the moral support of the servicemen, great endeavors should be made to nurture the core values of the contemporary officers and men, i. e. "**loyalty to the Party, love for the people, devotion to the country, dedication to the mission, and respect for honor.**" These are the basic principles with which our army deals with the fierce struggle in the ideological field in the new period, and also the inevitable requirement for our army to fulfill its historical missions in the new stages of the new century. **As far as the struggle in the ideological field is concerned**, since the beginning of the new century, the U. S.-led western world has seized every opportunity to instigate color revolutions in Eastern Europe and the CIS region, leading to the successive collapse of governments. China is the largest socialist country in the world, and also a major rising and developing country, so the U. S.-led western world gives growing priority to our country as a target of destabilization, and our country faces increasing threats. Meanwhile, as our society develops rapidly, different values interweave with and influence each other, which to different degrees impact the army and pose severe challenges to the theoretical and political education of the army. Therefore, Hu Jintao demanded that the army "remain loyal to the Party", "love the people" and "serve the country."

Regarding the historical missions of our army, in response to the profound changes taking place in the domestic and foreign situations, it undertakes ever-expanding missions and tasks. Hu summarized the historical missions of our army in the new stage of the new century into "**three provides and one play**" (**these are, to**

provide the force that guarantees the ruling position of the Party; to provide strong security assurance for maintaining the important strategic opportunities of national development; to provide vigorous strategic support for expanding our national interests; to play important roles in maintaining world peace and promoting joint development). Therefore, the army shall "be dedicated to missions." In terms of the core values of the contemporary servicemen, Hu Jintao scientifically summarized and enunciated the basic and core values that contemporary servicemen must uphold, and proposed "advocating honor", which is of major strategic significance to military development in the new situation.

5. Important directives of Comrade Xi Jinping

On Mach 11, 2013, at the plenary meeting of the PLA delegation during the First Session of the 12th National People's Congress, Xi Jinping issued the important directive: "**strive to build people's armed forces that follow the Party's commands, and are able to win victory and exemplary in conduct.**" This directive has become the goal of the Party to strengthen the army in the new situation. On March 15, 2014, Xi Jinping stressed at the first plenary meeting of the leading group for deepening reform of national defense and the military under the Central Military Commission (CMC) **that in order to drive deeper reform, it is imperative to unify ideology and actions with the decisions and arrangements of the Party Central Committee and the CMC, and build a strong army in reviewing, guiding and promoting reform.** Previously, at the enlarged CMC meeting at the end of 2012, Xi had proposed to "build people's armed forces that follow the Party's commands, and are able to win victory and exemplary in conduct."

In order to realize the Chinese dream—the rejuvenation of the

Chinese nation—and adapt to the demands raised by changes in the international strategic situation and national security environment, Xi proposes that national defense and army-building must achieve major development. **As far as realizing the Chinese dream is concerned**, building a powerful country means for the army realizing the dream of building a strong army. We are approaching the great rejuvenation of the Chinese nation in an unprecedented way, and possess the competence and confidence to realize this goal as never before. However, the mission is by no means an easy one. The stronger and more developed we are, the greater resistance and pressure we will face, and the more risks and challenges we will encounter. Without a strong national defense, without a powerful army, there will be no security and protection for the great rejuvenation of the Chinese nation.

In terms of the changes in the international strategic situation and national security environment, the overall situation at present remains peaceful, but hegemonism, power politics, and new interventionism are on the rise, and the world is still faced with actual and potential threats of war. The Asia-Pacific region has become the new focus of international strategic power plays, actual threats to the peripheral security of our country are rising—to maritime security in particular. Our country is at a critical stage, developing from a big country to a strong one, and the U.S.-led western countries constantly engage in maneuvers against us and attempt to constrain our progress.

Taking the new situations and problems found in our military development into consideration, our military development faces some prominent contradictions and problems. First, the complex struggles in the ideological field pose new challenges against the great traditions of our army. Hostile forces spare no effort in advocating

"the non-Party affiliation and depoliticizing of the army" and "the army belongs to the country", in an attempt to undermine the absolute leadership of the Party over the army and topple the leadership of the Party. These voices were heard as early as the time of the drastic changes in the Soviet Union and East Europe in the 1990s, and lingered on during the modernization process of our army. Therefore, Xi Jinping stated explicitly that the army should "obey the Party's command."

Second, modern warfare places new demands on the fighting capabilities of our army. At present, disputes grow regarding our territorial sovereignty with peripheral countries, disputes over the East China Sea and South China Sea in particular continue to ferment, and possibilities increase that turmoil and even warfare might erupt at our front door. However, our army remains at the stage where it has not yet completed mechanization and its informationization process is accelerating, and we have insufficient capabilities in conducting modern warfare. CMC Chairman Xi states clearly that "two discrepancies" and "two insufficiencies" have existed for long in our army, and demands that increasing the capabilities to fight and win shall be taken as the core requirement of military development. We do not stir up trouble and we are not afraid of it, but when trouble shows up, we do not easily accept losses and failures. How to achieve this? It demands the ability "to win battles."

Third, unhealthy social currents constitute new threats to the work of our army. The army is not a secluded place. In recent years, erroneous ideological trends and decadence in the ideas and culture in our society have been a growing and negative influence on officers and men in the army, and the erosion of the army by the tumor of corruption allows no negligence. Thus, Chairman Xi has

explicitly made " exemplary in conduct" an important requirement of the military development goal.

Conclusion: the important inscriptions and directives of the above five leaders are consistent, with constant innovation and development

It is the unremitting pursuit of our Party to build strong armed forces of the people. All the above leaders have constantly taken changing situations and tasks into consideration. While carrying on the army's glorious traditions, they put forth timely and specific goals and requirements and guided the constant development of the armed forces. Although due to different historical backgrounds, they differed in their concepts, positions, and emphasis, their core ideas are consistent and their content represents steady progress. The directives of Xi represent the inheritance and development of the guiding thoughts of Mao Zedong, Deng Xiaoping, Jiang Zemin and Hu Jintao regarding military development, which are in line with their consistent guiding thoughts and requirements over military development, while also representing the new requirements raised for our Party and the armed forces under Xi's leadership in face of the current new domestic and foreign situations. They are the latest achievements of the Party's military guiding theories that keep abreast of the times.

First is to grasp the fundamental, which is to uphold the principle of following the Party's commands. This is the essence and determines the political orientation of military development. " A firm and correct political orientation " proposed by Mao Zedong, " the revolutionary armed forces " by Deng Xiaoping, " be qualified politically" by Jiang Zemin and "loyalty to the Party" by Hu Jintao

all stress that we must uphold the fundamental principle of the Party's absolute leadership over the armed forces. Xi's "follow the Party's commands" is the most important legacy of the four previous leaders. No matter how the situation changes, this fundamental principle cannot be abandoned.

Second is to aim squarely at the target, focusing on forging the ability to fight and win. Xi's "be able to win victory" reflects the basic function of the armed forces and fundamental direction of military development. The armed forces are first of all the fighting force. They exist to fight, and building armed forces that are able to fight and win victory is the key task of military development. Mao's "flexible strategy and tactics", Deng's "modern" armed forces, Jiang's "be competent militarily" and Hu's "dedication to the mission", all emphasize enhancing combat capacity—the essence of military development.

Third is to fortify a solid foundation, managing the armed forces strictly. Xi's "exemplary in conduct" bears close relation to the nature, aspiration and character of the armed forces. From their foundation in the beginning to their development and growth later on, our armed forces always treat building a regular army as a key element of military management and development. Mao Zedong demanded that the army stick to "an industrious and simple style of work", and formulated "Three Rules of Discipline and Eight Points for Attention"; Deng Xiaoping aggressively rectified problems such as "overstaffing, laxity, arrogance, luxury and indolence" within the army, and raised the requirement to "build a regular army"; Jiang Zemin required that the armed forces "have a fine style of work"; Hu Jintao asked the armed forces to show "respect for honor", and all of them emphasized promoting the style of work of the armed forces.

In September 2014, when meeting representatives of the chief of staff meeting, Xi Jinping put forth "Four Strengthenings" (that is, strengthening the command awareness, strengthening the ability of war planning, strengthening the work style improvement and strengthening reform and innovation). The new idea of "strengthening reform and innovation" is based on "following the Party's commands, being able to winvictory and exemplary in conduct", and fully reflects the historical background as well as the new situations and tasks facing the armed forces. Reform and innovation are consistent with the objectives of military development, while the latter is the intent and purpose of the former. Only by centering on the objectives of military development can reform and innovation move forward in the correct direction and muster power to the maximum. Meanwhile, reform and innovation are the basic driving force and the essential course to achieve the objectives of military development. Only through constant reform and innovation can the armed forces seize opportunities, developing from weak to strong and from strong to stronger. Therefore, we shall scientifically balance the relationship between the objectives of military development and reform and innovation so as to guide reform and innovation with the objectives of military development and realize the latter with the former.

To sum up, we shall comprehensively and accurately understand the important inscriptions and directives of the five leaders. We shall understand not only the consistency therein, but also the changing domestic and international situations and backgrounds as well as their specific emphasis and characteristics. We shall implement them in an innovative way, and make new contributions to the reform and development of our national defense and army building.

Remember History, Uphold Justice, and Preserve Peace *

——Commemorating the 70th Anniversary of the Potsdam Declaration

This year marks the 70th anniversary of victory in the Chinese People's Warof Resistance against Japanese Aggression and the world Anti-Fascist War. It is a year worthy of commemoration for all peace-loving nations and peoples in the world. It is also a year of special significance for the Chinese people, who made a tremendous sacrifice for victory in both wars. On July 26, 70 years ago, China, the United States and Great Britain jointly issued the Potsdam Declaration as the ultimatum to Japanese militarism. It put forward detailed measures on how to treat Japan after the war and laid an essential foundation for the post-war international order. Today, to review this momentous historical event and commemorate the release of this important international legal document is of particular

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relevance to our memory of the lessons of war and the preservation of peace.

The Traces of History Remain Fresh

In the early 1960s, when I was working in Berlin, I paid several visits to Potsdam. At Schloss Cecilienhof, as I strolled across the spacious lawn in the inner court and gazed at the round table in the main conference hall, my thoughts went back to historic moments.

The Potsdam Conference, which commanded the attention of the world, was held between July 17 and August 2, 1945. Before that, the Soviet army had taken Berlin and Nazi Germany had lost the war and surrendered. While the war in Europe had been over for more than two months, the Japanese fascists were still putting up stiff resistance. To beat Japan, shape the post-war international structure and mark off their spheres of influence, the Soviet Union, the U. S. and Britain decided to hold a conference under the meaningful codename Terminal. It had become rather difficult to find a suitable place in Berlin, which was all but reduced to rubble by the brutal fighting. Stalin suggested that the triumvirate could have their conference in Potsdam, about 40 km southwest of Berlin. On the one hand, it was beautiful and conveniently located, and had been spared from severe damage as part of the Soviet-controlled areas. This would make it easy to coordinate among the parties. On the other hand, Potsdam was the origin of Prussian militarism. Here Frederick the Great had built his summer palace Sans Souci and a great series of barracks. It was from here that he boosted Prussia's military strength and soon made it one of the most formidable

powers in Europe. It would be of special significance to discuss the termination of Fascism at this place. Of the leaders of the three countries, U.S. President Roosevelt died in April 1945 before he could see the collapse of Nazi Germany; his successor, President Truman, was no match for him in either domestic support or international clout. Winston Churchill had led Britain to victory, but he lost the election and had to pull out of the conference. His replacement, Clement Attlee, was in no position to make a big difference. Only Stalin survived the entire war and kept a firm hold on power at home. Under his command, the Red Army destroyed 73% of the German troops and 75% of their aircraft and tanks at the cost of 27 million Russian lives. This was a tremendous contribution to the eventual victory. In particular, the Soviet army took the lead in putting the red flag on top of the Reichstag building and became the actual occupying force in Berlin.

Schloss Cecilienhof, where the conference was held, is a three-storey villa in the English country style. It used to be the home of the German Empire's last crown prince and his wife. After the Soviet takeover, it was fitted up for the conference with a distinct Soviet flavor at every turn: the lawn in the inner court was replaced by a flowerbed of geraniums in the shape of a giant red star measuring 24 feet across, which symbolized the victory of the Red Army; the round oak table in the main conference hall was rushed out by a furniture factory in Moscow on the personal order of Stalin. Touring the hall, I was impressed by a notch in Stalin's chair, which must have been cut by someone as a way to remember the historic moment. It offers a glimpse into the special role and clout of the Soviet Union and Stalin at the conference. I was also reminded that the corridor outside the hall was full of jostling journalists from

around the world, who had been attracted to that moment in Potsdam. Among them was the future U.S. president John F. Kennedy. He reported the entire process as one of Hearst's European correspondents, witnessing that great moment at Schloss Cecilienhof.

Discussions on operations against Japan figured prominently at the conference. Before that, in February 1945, the U.S., the Soviet Union and Britain had signed the Yalta Agreement, which further confirmed that the Soviet Union would join the Allies' fight against Japan within two to three months following the end of the war in Europe. Once this happened in May 1945, the question how to fight Japan entered the agenda.

Truman would note in his memoirs that when he met with Stalin alone for the first time in Potsdam, he made it clear that the U.S. was expecting Russia's help in operations against Japan. This suggests that one of the main purposes of the U.S.' participation in the conference was to persuade the Soviet Union to join in the fight as soon as possible. During the conference, the top brass of the three countries held several meetings to discuss the issue. On July 24, to mount a major political offensive against Japan, Truman talked with Churchill about preparing the draft of an ultimatum (i.e. the draft of the Potsdam Declaration). Both agreed that China should be brought in, and the draft was forwarded to Nanjing for consideration via the American ambassador. On July 26, the U.S. received China's affirmative reply. That night, the Potsdam Declaration, co-signed by China, the U.S. and Britain was officially released. On the night of August 8, the Soviet government stated that it would join the signatories and declared war on Japan. This was the beginning of the world anti-fascist frontline's final assault on Japanese militarism.

The Contents of the Declaration Uphold Justice

The Potsdam Declaration, or the Proclamation Defining Terms for Japanese Surrender, was one of the major outcomes of the world's Anti-Fascist War. Divided into 13 articles, it states the Allies' primary purpose of urging Japan to surrender and reflects the fervent wish to end the war among the peoples of the world.

First, the Declaration makes a stern affirmation of the aggressive nature of Japan's war. Article six states, "There must be eliminated for all time the authority and influence of those who have deceived and misled the people of Japan into embarking on world conquest, for we insist that a new order of peace, security and justice will be impossible until irresponsible militarism is driven from the world." This article defines the war unleashed by Japan as militarist aggression with the ultimate purpose of world conquest. As the leading countries in the fight against Japan, China, the U.S. and Britain used this international legal document to issue un unequivocal proclamation to the world that Japanese militarism was a force of injustice that "must be eliminated for all time", and that its war was stark and savage aggression, which had no place in "a new order of peace, security and justice." Neither "The New Order in Greater East Asia" nor "The Greater East Asia Co-Prosperity Sphere" could cover up Japan's essential purpose of colonial rule and the plunder of resources; far less could they alter the facts about Japan's callous invasion and brutal treatment of the affected nations.

In May 2015, Shinzo Abe rejected the Potsdam Declaration's definition of the war as Japanese aggression on the ground of not having read the articles during the party leaders' debate at the Diet.

However, history will not change with the times, and facts will not be made to disappear by glib denials. From the Mukden Incident and the consequent occupation of northeast China to the Marco Polo Bridge Incident that marked the beginning of the full-scale invasion of China, from the Pacific War to the extension of invasion to more than ten Asia-Pacific countries, Japan's aggressive war lasted 14 years. China was the main battlefield of the War of Resistance, and Chinese soldiers and civilians sustained 35 million casualties. The blood-soaked crimes of Japanese militarism are beyond denial or whitewash.

Second, the Declaration reflects the will and resolve to defeat Japan thoroughly. Article two states, "The prodigious land, sea and air forces of the United States, the British Empire and of China, many times reinforced by their armies and air fleets from the west, are poised to strike the final blows upon Japan. This military power is sustained and inspired by the determination of all the Allied Nations to prosecute the war against Japan until she ceases to resist." In 1945, the Allied forces launched an all-out counteroffensive against Japan on the Asia-Pacific battlefield, pushing the fronline close to Japanese soil and cornering the Japanese military like a beast at bay. In the Chinese theater, the Chinese resistance forces tied down over 1.4 million Japanese troops in nearly 40 divisions, almost two thirds of Japan's total strength. On the Pacific, the U. S. military had advanced to Iwo Jima and Okinawa and was launching frequent air raids on Japanese cities. In Southeast Asia, the Allied forces, with a total strength of about 1.5 million, besieged the main force of the Japanese in Burma and rendered it immobile.

The release of the Declaration met with a quick military response from various countries. After declaring war on Japan, the

Soviet Union sent a million troops into northeast China and the north of Korea on August 9 for a full-scale offensive on the Kwantung Army. On the same day, Chairman Mao published "The Last Battle against the Japanese Invaders", and the armed forces in all the Liberated Areas launched a general counteroffensive on the Japanese forces. On August 6 and 9, the U. S. dropped atomic bombs on Hiroshima and Nagasaki. These actions attested to the vital role played by the Declaration in ending WW II through urging the Allies to mount a general offensive against Japan.

Third, the Declaration demanded Japan's unconditional surrender. Article 13 says, "We call upon the government of Japan to proclaim now the unconditional surrender of all Japanese armed forces, and to provide proper and adequate assurances of their good faith in such action. The alternative for Japan is prompt and utter destruction." Tokyo's initial response to this was rejection, with three mobilizations in preparation for a decisive battle on Japanese soil. However, the joint strikes by the world's anti-fascist forces left Japan's militarists with no other option. On August 14, 1945, the Japanese government sent a note to the governments of the U.S., the UK, the Soviet Union and China, announcing its acceptance of the Potsdam Declaration. On August 15, Emperor Hirohito officially declared Japan's unconditional surrender through a radio broadcast of the Imperial Rescript on the Termination of the War. On August 17, the emperor ordered the Japanese military to surrender peacefully, and more than 3.3 million Japanese troops began to surrender to the Allies in the Far East, South Asia, and the Pacific islands. On September 2, on the USS Missouri in Tokyo Bay, Japan's foreign minister Mamoru Shigemitsu, on behalf of the Japanese emperor and government, and Chief of the General Staff

Yoshijiro Umezu, on behalf of the General Headquarters of the Japanese military, signed the Instrument of Surrender and proclaimed that they would "undertake for the Emperor, the Japanese Government, and their successors to carry out the provisions of the Potsdam Declaration in good faith." The signing of this document officially heralded the utter failure of Japanese militarism and the final victory in the world's Anti-Fascist War.

Fourth, the Declaration defines the post-war territorial limits of Japan. This is specified in Article eight: "The terms of the Cairo Declaration shall be carried out and Japanese sovereignty shall be limited to the islands of Honshu, Hokkaido, Kyushu, Shikoku and such minor islands as we determine." This article reaffirms the legality and authority of the Cairo Declaration and defines Japan's territorial limits. Signed by China, the U. S. and the UK on December 1, 1943, the Cairo Declaration says, "Japan shall be stripped of all the islands in the Pacific which she has seized or occupied since the beginning of the first World War in 1914, and that all the territories Japan has stolen from the Chinese, such as Manchuria, Formosa, and The Pescadores, shall be restored to the Republic of China. Japan will also be expelled from all other territories which she has taken by violence and greed." Both documents, carrying the full weight of international law, explicitly demand the termination of Japan's illegal occupation of the "territories which she has stolen from the Chinese." In addition to northeast China, Taiwan and the Penghu Islands as mentioned in the text, these also include the Diaoyu Islands stolen by Japan in 1895 as well as the Xisha Islands and the Nansha Islands, which were illegally occupied during WW Ⅱ. All these territories were to be restored to China according to international law.

Fifth, the Declaration calls for the punishment of Japanese war criminals and the establishment of a peaceful government. Articles 10 and 12 state, "We do not intend that the Japanese shall be enslaved as a race or destroyed as a nation, but stern justice shall be meted out to all war criminals, including those who have visited cruelties upon our prisoners. The Japanese Government shall remove all obstacles to the revival and strengthening of democratic tendencies among the Japanese people. Freedom of speech, of religion, and of thought, as well as respect for the fundamental human rights shall be established... The occupying forces of the Allies shall be withdrawn from Japan as soon as these objectives have been accomplished and there has been established in accordance with the freely expressed will of the Japanese people a peacefully inclined and responsible government." In accordance with Article 10, the International Military Tribunal for the Far East was established for the trial of Japanese war criminals. Among these, seven Class A war criminals, including Hideki Tojo, Itagaki Seishiro and Kenji Doihara, were sentenced to the gallows. Meanwhile, efforts began to draft and promulgate the new Japanese constitution, known as the Peace Constitution. Article nine of the constitution states, "Aspiring sincerely to an international peace based on justice and order, the Japanese people forever renounce war as a sovereign right of the nation and the threat or use of force as means of settling international disputes. To accomplish the aim of the preceding paragraph, land, sea, and air forces, as well as other war potential, will never be maintained. The right of belligerency of the state will not be recognized." This article has in effect stripped Japanese militarism of the legal basis for its existence, deterred the Japanese

ring-wing from re-armament, and established a post-war political system for Japan directed to the pursuit of peace.

The Principles of the Declaration Brook No Distortion

The Potsdam Declaration was a fruit of victory won at the cost of tens of millions of lives as well as a crucial guarantee for a peaceful international order after WW Ⅱ. Through all the vicissitudes of international developments over the past seven decades, the major outcomes of the world's Anti-Fascist War, including the Potsdam Declaration, are still worth cherishing and preserving with utmost care.

It should be remembered that the international order established by the Potsdam Declaration must not be challenged or overthrown. After WW Ⅱ, general peace in the world became a reality. This was thanks to the international order founded on the legal basis of the Cairo Declaration and the Potsdam Declaration, and with the United Nations as an authority. To abide by the terms of the Potsdam Declaration was a formal pledge made by the Japanese government to the international community. As former Japanese prime minister Tomiichi Murayama put it, "It was because of the acceptance of the Potsdam Declaration, the Cairo Declaration and the decisions of the trials in Tyoko that Japan was allowed to return to the international community."

However, despite its status as one of the defeated countries in WW Ⅱ, Japan continues to indulge in deviant conduct in her view on the war and in the way she tells her young people about it, and continues to display an ambiguous attitude towards self-examination

on her war crimes. Since he took office as prime minister for the second time, in an attempt to break free from the restraints of the post-war system Shinzo Abe has accelerated the process of constitutional amendment and military buildup, reversed the ban on the right of collective self-defense, and violated the three principles on arms export. Not only does this constitute an outright disregard for historical truth and justice, it also does intentional damage to the post-war international order.

For right-wingers in Japan, the order based on the Potsdam Declaration and other documents was established for the purpose of oppressing Japan, and Japan cannot become a so-called "normal country" until that order is overthrown. Their challenge to the peaceful international order, their words, and their actions intended to distort or glorify the aggression of Japanese militarism, are unacceptable to the Chinese people and to the people of every other injured country in Asia as well as any Japanese with a sense of justice and conscience. Despite the passage of time, reflections on the war have never stopped and will never cease. To this day, the spectre of Fascism has never perished and the ambition to overthrow the post-war international order has never been entirely contained. We must keep a vigilant watch. Justice and evil must not be confused, and the tragedy of the past must not be repeated.

It must be remembered that the Potsdam Declaration defines Taiwan as an integral part of Chinese territory. On October 25, 1945, in executing the Cairo Declaration and the Potsdam Declaration as one of the victorious countries, the Chinese government accepted Japan's surrender in Taipei and declared, "From this day on, Taiwan and the Penghu Islands are officially restored to the Chinese

territory, with all their land, people and political affairs placed under Chinese sovereignty." This freed Taiwan from the yoke of half a century of colonial rule and restored her to China. Though Taiwan is yet to be reunified with the mainland, the fact that they belong to the same country has never changed; the fact that people on both sides of the Taiwan Strait share the same language and racial origins has never changed and will never change. There have been phases of cooling and of warmth over the past decades, but cross-strait relations have generally moved forward on a path of historical inevitability. Since the beginning of the new century, the Kuomintang and the Communist Party of China have achieved reconciliation and discussed how to preserve peace across the Taiwan Strait, and people on both Taiwan and the mainland have worked together to usher in a bright future of peaceful and mutually beneficial development. The value of trade between Taiwan and the mainland has gone up from $ 91.23 billion a decade ago to $ 198.31 billion in 2014, and the number of people traveling across the strait has increased from just over 4.269 million ten years ago to more than 9.411 million in 2014. However, the root cause of cross-strait instability has yet to be eliminated: in an attempt to incite hostility and sever cultural and emotional ties, "Taiwan independence" activists are doing their utmost to fuel confrontation between Taiwan and the mainland and disrupt cross-strait exchanges and cooperation. History teaches us the lesson that in the future as in the past, the cause of "Taiwan independence" will not be won. Our commemoration of the Potsdam Declaration is intended to carefully preserve the fruits of peaceful development in cross-strait relations. As President Xi Jinping emphasized during his meeting in May 2015

with Eric Chu, chairman of the Kuomintang, we must persevere in the cause of peaceful development of cross-strait relations, adhere to the 1992 Consensus, oppose the political foundation of "Taiwan independence", maintain cross-strait negotiations, promote exchanges and cooperation in all areas, keep working for the common good of the people on both sides of the strait, jointly build a community of destiny, and strive to initiate a new future for cross-strait relations.

It must be remembered that the Potsdam Declaration reiterates China's sovereignty over the Diaoyu Islands in the East China Sea and the South China Sea Islands. In terms of both geographic location and historical jurisdiction, the Diaoyu Islands have always been affiliated to Taiwan, and the Xisha and Nansha Islands have been Chinese territories since ancient times. China has indisputable sovereignty over the Diaoyu Islands in the East China Sea and the South China Sea Islands. During WW II, the Cairo Declaration and the Potsdam Declaration explicitly required that Japan should return the Chinese territories she had stolen. These certainly include the Diaoyu Islands and the South China Sea Islands, which Japan had occupied. This was also an obligation pledged by Japan in her Instrument of Surrender. After the war, the Chinese government recovered sovereignty over the Xisha and Nansha Islands. The Joint Communiqué of Japan and China, signed in 1972 for the normalization of diplomatic relations between the two countries, explicitly states that Japan would adhere to the position of Article eight of the Potsdam Declaration. All these are crystal-clear historical facts.

In recent years, however, Japan has seen a resurgence of right-

wing and militarist forces. Their regressive actions range from political leaders' visits to the Yasukuni Shrine to the illegal "purchase" and so-called "nationalization" of the Diaoyu Islands, from the doctoring of textbooks to attempts to justify the pressganging of "comfort women". These constitute not only a total disregard of historical facts, but also a blatant repudiation of the terms of their surrender in the Anti-Fascist War and a direct challenge to the post-war international order. They are unacceptable not only to the Chinese people, but also to all forces for peace and justice in the rest of the world. Over the South China Sea issue, a small number of Southeast Asian countries have illegally occupied Chinese islets in defiance of China's restraint, composure and constructive attitude. Some of them have taken the so-called islet disputes to the International Court of Justice. Such conduct will never lead to a peaceful solution to the issue.

It must be remembered that the Potsdam Declaration represents an essential prerequisite for the development of positive relations between China and other countries. During WW Ⅱ, China and the U. S. fought side by side and made a tremendous contribution to victory. Today, in new circumstances, Sino-U. S. relations are at a new starting point where the leaders of the two nations have reached consensus on building a new model of major-country relations marked by "no conflict or confrontation, mutual respect, and mutually beneficial cooperation." In September, President Xi Jinping will pay a state visit to the U.S. at the latter's invitation, which will certainly inject new energy into that endeavor. For China and Japan, over more than four decades since the normalization of their diplomatic relations, cooperation in various areas has become

much broader and deeper than many would ever have dared to hope, and given a strong boost to the socioeconomic development of both countries. We are therefore sorry to see that there remain certain influences disruptive to the stable development of Sino-U. S. relations and Sino-Japanese relations. During the Cold War, the U. S. and Japan had secret dealings over the Diaoyu Islands through the Okinawa Reversion Treaty. Recently, they have emphasized that the U.S.-Japan Security Treaty is applicable to the Diaoyu Islands. The Japanese government has openly sown discord and misled public opinion. Its distortions include the denial of Japan's crimes of aggression and history of colonization, the doctoring of history textbooks; its disregard for its duties includes the worship of war criminals and militarists, and the bypassing of the Peace Constitution to facilitate Japanese intervention in regional conflicts. This conduct runs in direct defiance of the principles of the Cairo Declaration and the Potsdam Declaration, and is entirely at odds with the fundamental tenets of international law. It will pose a challenge to the peace and stability of Asia and the rest of the world.

During his visit to Germany in March 2014, President Xi Jinping quoted some famous words from former German chancellor Willy Brandt: "Those who forget history lose something of their soul." Historical facts must not be tampered with, and historical truths must not be distorted; the contents of the Potsdam Declaration and other international law documents must not be negated, and their principles must not be defiled. Both historical achievements and historical lessons should be the common legacy of countries around the world. History tells us that the repetition of

mistakes always starts when the memory of such mistakes is allowed to fade. Moreover, history has a direct bearing on the present and points to the future. To adhere to the correct view of history requires us to face up to history, remember it, and take it as a guide for the future. In this new era, China, along with all peace-loving nations and peoples in the world, will uphold the Potsdam Declaration as a banner of justice, persist in peaceful development, and promote beneficial cooperation. Let the Potsdam Declaration and the other fruits of victory in the Anti-Fascist War resonate in history with eternal glory!